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# Understanding Behavioral and Emotional Responses to Frames Used by Animal Rights Organizations in the United States and France

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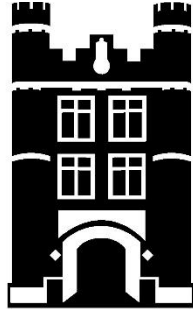
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UNDERSTANDING BEHAVIORAL AND EMOTIONAL RESPONSES  
TO FRAMES USED BY ANIMAL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS  
IN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE

by Alysa Tarrant

An Independent Study Thesis  
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Course Requirements for  
Senior Independent Study: The Department of French and Francophone Studies and The  
Department of Communication

March 3, 2020

Advisors: Professor Marion Duval and Professor Yi Zhu

## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study was to examine how varying demographics among French and American populations responded to three types of frames used by animal rights organizations: ethical, environmental, and health related. A two by three experimental design in which participants saw two images corresponding to one of the three frames was distributed. The survey measured each respondent's political opinions, emotional response, and behavioral response through self-designed scales. The study finds that culture and political ideologies play a significant role in influencing frame response, such that the French respondents were more emotionally and behaviorally influenced than Americans, and that liberals are more emotionally and behaviorally influenced than conservatives. More specifically, the research also finds that the environmental and ethical frames were significantly different in evoking emotional responses, while the health frame was not. Additionally, the frame effect was significant for emotional response but not for behavioral response. Animal rights organizations should have an understanding of those that will see their campaigns and should adjust the frame accordingly.

Keywords: animal rights organizations, vegan, vegetarian, United States, France

## **RÉSUMÉ**

L'objet de cette étude est d'examiner la manière dont les différentes statistiques démographiques des populations françaises et américaines répondent à trois cadres de communication utilisés par les organisations de défense des droits des animaux : l'éthique, l'écologique et la santé. Un modèle expérimental de sondage, dans lequel les participants voient deux images qui correspondent à un seul des trois cadres de communication, a donc été proposé. Un questionnaire, avec des échelles d'évaluation conçues par mes propres soins, a mesuré les opinions politiques, les réactions émotives et les réponses comportementales des participants. Cette étude constate que la culture et les idéologies politiques influencent fortement les réponses aux différentes approches communicatives : les Français ont ainsi davantage été influencés de manière émotionnelle et comportementale que les Américains et cette observation est également valable pour les sondés politiquement à gauche par rapport à ceux qui sont à droite. Plus spécifiquement, la recherche a trouvé que les cadres de communication écologique et éthique ont tendance à susciter plus des réactions émotives alors que ce n'est pas le cas du cadre de la santé. De plus, l'impact de cette approche communicative est notable pour les réactions émotives mais pas pour celles qui sont comportementales. Les organisations de défense des droits des animaux ont un intérêt à mieux comprendre ceux qui sont visés par leurs campagnes promotionnelle pour pouvoir les ajuster en conséquence.

Mots clés : droits des animaux, régime végétalien, régime végétarien, États-Unis, France

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my parents for their never-ending support throughout the entire education process that has led me to writing and completing my independent study at the College of Wooster. Mom and Dad, thank you for always being a phone call away and for your endless dedication to my education and the adventures that it has led to. I would also like to thank my partner Jack, who has let me rant to him and time again about everything to do with the Independent Study process.

Secondly, I want to thank the wonderful women of Corner House. Dinners and “rose, bud, thorn” have been a rock throughout this past year. To my Wooster friends who shared this journey, these past four years would not have been possible without you.

Thank you to Copeland Funding for providing me with the opportunity to expand my Independent Study through a weeklong trip to Paris. This opportunity allowed me to attend a conference and a food festival where I was able to gain a deeper understanding of veganism at its roots in French culture.

Finally, I would like to thank my advisors: Professor Duval and Professor Zhu. Professor Duval, thank you for letting me cry in your office when I got stressed, and for telling me to take a few days off. Your support and insights have been incredibly valuable throughout this process and throughout my past four years here at Wooster. I wouldn’t be a French major if it wasn’t you and your passion for teaching.

Professor Zhu, thank you for your valuable insights into my IS and for responding to my confused emails about SPSS at all hours. I would still be stuck trying to read my results without your help. Thank you for pushing me to create a study that I’m proud and that was beyond my own expectations.

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## **CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION**

In 2003, the animal rights organization, PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) unveiled their “Holocaust on Your Plate” campaign, a campaign that caused a great deal of controversy in the United States and in Europe (Freeman, “Who’s Harming Whom?” 1). The premise of the campaign was to compare factory farming and the treatment of animals today, to the extermination of Jews during the Holocaust. This method of framing the animal rights relied on the ethical lens. But is this a successful technique, or does it go too far to create change?

The campaign’s appeal to ethics and the creation of a catalytic experience is just one of the techniques used by animal rights organizations in the United States and France to grab people’s attention and get them to ask questions about their dietary and lifestyle habits regarding the usage of animals. Throughout this paper the “Holocaust on Your Plate” campaign will be returned to while also conducting an analysis of frame usage to better understand how audiences respond to animal rights organizations’ messages. This chapter will explore the purpose of this study, the rationales behind conducting this study, key definitions critical to understanding this study, and methods that will be used to conduct this survey.

### **Purpose**

The purpose of this study is to measure the reactions to and perceptions of various problem and solution frames regarding animal rights. Reactions may include emotional responses, success of the attempted persuasion, and shock (with measured emotional change and behavioral intention change due to this emotional response) while perceptions may include that the frame is credible, believable, informative, or appropriate. The

specific frames are environmental protection, improved personal health and nutrition, and the ethicality of animal use. Due to the cultural and historical differences regarding animal rights in the United States and France, people from both countries will be included in the sample.

### **Rationales**

This study adds to existing research on the use of frames by animal rights organizations by focusing on audience responses. Previous scholarship has analyzed the framing and recruitment techniques used by animal rights organizations in the United States in France (Atkins-Sayre 309; Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 1; Freeman, “Framing Animal Rights” 163; Hansson and Jacobsson 262; Jasper and Poulsen 493; Jorgensen 1; McDonald 1; Munro 1). Previous scholarship by Freeman and Jorgenson has also suggested modifications to improve the success of these frames, but thus far only one study by Mika, examining the success of animal rights frames, could be found (Freeman, “Framing Animal Rights in the ‘Go Veg’ Campaigns of U.S. Animal Rights Organizations” 163; Jorgensen 1; Mika 915). This study, then, serves to fill a void in the current scholarship.

This study will contribute to the field by providing new research insights through a different research method, specifically, the quantitative method. Previous work by Jorgenson has qualitatively examined frame usage by animal rights groups in the United States through analyses of animal rights and vegetarian websites, although limited quantitative research was involved (Jorgensen 1). Additionally, one study by Mika included the responses of college students to frames used by these organizations (Mika 915). Limited research focuses on interviews with participants of animal rights

organizations in the United States and France but to this point no research could be found that used a majorly quantitative method of studying responses to these frames (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 450). Thus, this study will contribute a uniquely quantitative analyses of responses to frames used by animal rights organizations.

The practical value of this study is that the results can be used by a wide variety of animal rights organizations in the United States and France, such PETA or L214, a French animal rights group, to target certain demographics that have shown positive responses to specific frames. The results of this study will also be useful in helping animal rights organizations protect animals in the United States and France. Additionally, this research could be applied by vegan and vegetarian companies as a way of enhancing their marketing strategies by targeting certain demographics. Understanding this frame usage can further contribute to improved environment, personal health, and ethicality in the world.

### **Definitions**

It is important to define key terms for the purpose of this paper. Definitions of vegetarian(ism) can vary greatly person to person, so for the purposes of this paper, a vegetarian is defined as someone who chooses not to consume animal flesh (meat), but still consumes other animal products, such as cheese, milk, and eggs. Vegans are defined as “people who object to the use of nonhuman animal products for food, cosmetics, clothing, and vivisection – virtually all invasive activities involving nonhuman animals” (McDonald 16). There are also varying definitions for animal rights organizations, but for the purpose of this study they will be defined as groups that work towards a goal of promoting a vegan or vegetarian lifestyle for the sake of ending animal exploitation and

suffering. While there are many different definitions for the following terms, I have chosen definitions that are best suited to the material of this study. Frames are defined as “packages of proposals and critiques that fit together to highlight certain aspects of the issues” (Jasper and Poulsen 495).

### **Method**

Data for this study will be conducted via quasi-experimental study with three by two between-subjects design surveys (three frames – environmental, ethical, and health and two countries – France and the United States) which will be distributed electronically after HSRC approval (Appendix A) to as many demographics as possible within the United States and France (Appendix B, Appendix C). The goal is to get a wide variety of respondents in order to understand how different demographic factors affect responses. This survey will include questions about their current animal product use and consumption, as well as questions that ask about their emotional response to various campaign frames used by animal rights organizations in the United States and France. Chapter 3: Methods, will include a further discussion on these specific choices.

### **Conclusion**

This study is about understanding how different demographics affect the receptibility to different frames used by animal rights organizations in the United States and France. This is valuable because although there is a great deal of research on frames used by animal rights organizations, there is very little research on how people respond to these frames. The majority of current scholarship provides qualitative data; however, I will be conducting my study quantitatively with a survey.

## **CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW**

We live in a world in which animal agriculture releases more greenhouse gases than methods of transportation (Freeman, “Framing Animal Rights” 171) and a meat based diet is a huge contributor to global hunger (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 28), yet many westerners refuse to acknowledge these facts and the simple solution behind them. Despite being in the midst of a century in which social movements and activism have grown in fields such as environmentalism, feminism, and anti-racism, which are intertwined with the animal rights movement, the “concept of animal rights is so alien that the task of the animal movement’s leadership is to normalize it” (Munro 518). This chapter will delve into the goals of animal rights organizations, before exploring the three major types of frames created and used by these organizations in the United States and France, which are often encumbered by cultural differences. Next, this chapter will seek to understanding how the cultural variances affect the strategies used by animal rights organizations in the United States and France before examining the history of the movements in each country.

### **Understanding Animal Rights Organizations**

Animal rights organizations are groups of people who work together to end “cruelty towards animals and for compassion to all living things” (Einwohner 56). Almiron, Cole, and Freeman collectively articulated a popular reasoning behind the need for animal rights organizations:

Although nutritious, tasty, far less polluting, cruelty-free, plant-based food alternatives exist, each year dozens of billions of land and sea animals are systematically exploited and slaughtered worldwide simply to satisfy human

appetite for flesh. In Western countries, only a tiny percentage of citizens connect the dots between what they have on their plates and their ethics. (Almiron et al. 30)

In general, animal rights organizations strive to educate the population and make them aware of the ways in which animals are farmed, abused, and exploited for the use of humans, whether that be in the name of food, science, or fashion. The goal of these organizations is to change the general ideology from one that accepts the use of animals for consumption, to one that rejects this viewpoint (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 164; Munro 530). Veganism is typically the end goal of animal rights organizations, although vegetarianism is seen as the next best lifestyle. According to McDonald, vegans completely avoid and object nonhuman animal products for all purposes, whether that is for food, science, or fashion (1). Slightly less strict, vegetarians are people who choose not to consume animal flesh (meat) but still consume animal products (cheese, milk, etc.). The specific practice of vegetarianism is, however, variable because what is considered an animal differs by person and culture. For example, some vegetarians consider it appropriate to consume fish and/or eggs, while in other cultures this is unacceptable. These individual choices show the uniqueness of the animal rights social movement and its variances throughout the world.

Although organizations strive to produce a large change in the world, in order to do this, they first must persuade individuals to create lifestyle changes. The evolution of the movement is described as one that started in order to achieve animal equality but grew to encompassing an entire lifestyle movement, such that "the animal movement is a new social movement that defends non-human animals as 'subjects of a life' via specific

strategies that depend on publicity in the print and electronic media. Together, these two versions indicate why the movement exists and how it presses its claims” (qtd. in Munro 519). This makes the veganism movement unique and can be considered a “lifestyle” movement, which are “loosely bound collectivities in which participants advocate lifestyle change as a primary means to social change” (Haenfler et al. 14). Understanding the commitment needed to create lifestyle changes is key in comprehending how the frames used by animal rights organizations are perceived by the public. Although most people have never and will never participate in demonstrations or civil disobedience, they generally understand how their everyday actions affect the world (Haenfler et al. 14–15). This self-actualization provides the groundwork on which animal rights organizations can frame their messages in order to create a lasting lifestyle movement that will leave a positive change on the world.

### **Understanding Frames**

Frames were introduced into the social sciences in 1955 by Gregory Bateson, although the concept of frames were not fully elaborated on until twenty years later when the book *Frame Analysis* was released by Erving Goffman (Snow, Vliegenthart, et al. 385). It was not until the “mid-1980s when it [framing] formed the cornerstone for a framing perspective on social movements and was found to be of conceptual utility in research on political communication” (Snow, Vliegenthart, et al. 385), implying that when used as a communication strategy, frames could be a highly profitable technique.

Frames are defined as “packages of proposals and critiques that fit together to highlight certain aspects of the issues” (Jasper and Poulsen 495). This means that frames are ways of viewing an issue that bring certain aspects of said issue further into the light.



Frames are useful techniques because “by rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective” (Snow, Rochford, et al. 464). How something is presented (framed) influences how the audience thinks of it. For example, a frame used in presidential elections could be a discussion of employment rates. While one candidate may present the numbers as positive growth in a poor economy, another may present them as lower than in previous years. How these employment rates are presented can influence how the voters think of the candidate. When used properly, the frame has the ability to resonate with the preexisting ideologies of the viewer, thus working with opinions that are already there in order to promote a new viewpoint (Jasper and Poulsen 496).

This research can be applied to animal rights organizations who frame their campaigns in order to try and convert viewers to veganism. However, animal rights organizations have the struggle of using frames to try and encourage people to join a counter hegemonic movement that seeks to redefine socially accepted practices, such as the consumption of animal products (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 163). For example, PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals), the world's largest animal rights organization (Freeman, "Who's Harming Who", 7), compared the abuse and exploitation of animals by humans to that of Jews during the Holocaust by using quotes from Jewish scholars about the Holocaust that fit the scenarios of animal treatment that were portrayed (Freeman, “A Greater Means to the Greater Good” 282; Freeman, “Who’s Harming Whom?” 1). Most people have the ideology that the Holocaust was an abhorrent event. By framing the plight of animals as similar to this event, PETA uses this preexisting ideology to convince people that they are like Nazis and they need to become

vegan to stop the unnecessary killing (Hansson and Jacobsson 273). Thus, it can be seen that frames are a highly modifiable technique that can be used in a variety of manners, making them an appropriate rhetorical strategy for a counter hegemonic movement.

### **Frames Used by Animal Rights Organizations**

Animal rights organizations throughout the United States and France use frames in order to convince viewers to convert to a vegan lifestyle, or at least a vegetarian one. “The role of animal rights activists is to uncover, name and frame as injustices the abuse of animals” (Munro 533). Although frames are specific and tailored to the viewer and culture, I have determined that frames used by animal rights organizations worldwide can be divided into three general categories: food systems and environment, personal health and nutrition, and meat is murder/injustice (Atkins-Sayre 309; Freeman, “Framing Animal Rights in the ‘Go Veg’ Campaigns of U.S. Animal Rights Organizations” 169–73; Jorgensen 7–13; Mathieu and Dorard 729; Véron 9). This section will explore the usage of these three frames in order to understand why the solution frame is veganism. Because many activists are vegan for the sake of animals, many see the health and nutrition and the environment frames as simply a road to veganism for the sake of animal rights and thus an examination of all three frames is critical (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 29). By appealing to a preexisting ideology about the environment or personal health, activists hope to move people towards a commitment based on animal rights, and this theory is backed up by research that suggests commitment to one area can often lead to a deeper sense of commitment in other areas (Becker 32).

## *Environment and Food Systems*

The environment and food systems frame attempts to encourage a vegan lifestyle by providing evidence that shows how veganism is the best way to help the environment and wildlife (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 177) and how veganism can help combat poor food systems and slow world hunger. Although the food system and environment frame is the least used of the persuasive techniques on the websites of some of the most prominent animal rights organizations (Jorgensen 9; Munro 529), it is nevertheless vital to examine as it is a frame that research shows is likely to affect change in people (Munro 534).

Evidence supports the idea that the environmental movement is one of the most influential social movements of in the Western world during the past fifty years (van der Heijden 387). Communications scholars note that activists often observe a strong connection between environmentalism and vegetarianism in their motivations and strategies (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 28; Jamison and Lunch 454; Munro 534) and by further cultivating this connection, activists can gain access to a large and successful movement. Unfortunately, the connection does not often go both ways and many environmental groups seem to neglect the links between the environment and meat consumption (Martinelli and Berkmanienė 515). In examining how these diet and lifestyle choices are connected to a healthier environment, we can consider Frances Moore Lappé's *Diet for a Small Planet: How to Enjoy a Rich Harvest by Getting off the Top of the Food Chain*. This book discusses how a vegetarian diet is a responsible choice in order to promote environmental sustainability (Jorgensen 2). Work by Lappé often inspires activists' conversations about the environmental effects of carbon dioxide

emissions from Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs or factory farms), which are known to emit at least 21 percent of these emissions (qtd. in Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 28). The United Nations, reports that agriculture emits more greenhouse gas than transportation, another facet often cited by animal rights organizations (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 171). Additionally, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) reports that 24 percent of carbon dioxide emissions come from agriculture, forestry and land use, while only 14 percent are caused by transportation (US EPA).

Not only is a vegan diet useful in reducing carbon dioxide emissions, but it also has the ability to feed many more people than a meat-heavy diet, which is why groups such as PETA, Farm Sanctuary, Farm Animal Rights Movement, and Vegan Impact also turn to promoting veganism through discussions of world hunger and how worldwide food systems are affected by a vegan diet (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 171; "Vegan pour la planète"). Research conducted in 2013 found that "36% of the calories produced by the world's crops are being used for animal feed, and only 12% of those feed calories ultimately contribute to the human diet (as meat and other animal products)" (Cassidy et al. 1). Essentially, this means that the food that is used to feed animals, could be used to feed the humans instead, which would also contribute to the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions created in maintaining and slaughtering the animals. Because animals such as cows eat much more than the average human, it takes much more plant-based food to feed them, but in turn it does not create an equivalent amount of meat. For example, the organization Vegan Impact states, "En tuant un bœuf, nous pouvons préparer à partir de sa viande 1500 repas. Si nous prenons la quantité de céréales qui a été utilisée pour le nourrir, nous obtenons 18 000 repas" ("Vegan pour la planète") 'By

killing one cow, we can prepare around 1,500 meals. If we took the amount of grains used to feed the cow, we could obtain 18,000 meals'<sup>1</sup>. Enough plant-based calories are produced to feed ten to eleven billion people, however most of these calories go to feeding livestock (Buff), which in turn gets slaughtered and releases emissions that have negative effects on the environment. Although one might think that this information would be convincing in moving environmentalists towards the veganism movement, this may not be the case.

In recent years environmental movements and activism have moved to center stage in both France and the United States and in France, being an environmentalist is seen as “trendy” (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 30). However fewer animal rights organizations worldwide choose to focus their frames around the environment and improved food systems (Jorgensen 12). Upon talking to activists in the United States and France, Cherry noted that many do not believe in the environmental frame because it does not fundamentally change the humanist views that inevitably leads to animal cruelty and exploitation (*Culture and Activism* 30-31). However, research also shows that in recent years political activism and civic engagement has risen in the form of “boycotting” in which citizens do not buy certain products as a form of protest (Shah et al. 8). As Americans trend towards a “going-green” philosophy, this boycotting can be applied to anything seen as negatively impacting the environment (Cherry, “I Was a Teenage Vegan” 55). Further applying the concept to the animal rights environmental frame, activists can convince others to use the popular “boycotting” method to not purchase animal products from un-environmentally conscious companies. This socially conscious

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<sup>1</sup> Every translation is my own.

consumption “is a way for consumers to manifest their prosocial concerns through private shopping choices” (Atkinson 194). The solution frame presented by animal rights groups to rectify the issue of poor food systems and degrading an environment is that of prompting consumers to reduce their consumption of animal products or to go vegetarian or vegan completely (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 173-174). Vegetarianism is a way of life that feeds more people and simultaneously reduces waste and carbon dioxide.

### *Health and Nutrition*

This frame promotes veganism by presenting the lifestyle as a way to improve personal health and nutrition. According to Jorgensen, this frame is more widely used than the environmental and food systems frames (9). It is an important frame to understand because as Freeman states, “vegetarianism as opposed to meat reduction, will not start growing unless the movement proves that meat is either dangerous to one’s health or immoral” ("Framing Animal Rights" 167) and as such, this frame is a vital technique in the campaign for animal rights. The idea that something could be a threat to public health, such as the fact that meat consumption is linked to increased risks of colon cancer (Berg et al. 920; Fung et al. 959; Vineis and McMichael 479) is a strong motivator for people to take action (Munro 534. 538-539).

In the United States, work aimed at the general public as well as more works within the research community have begun to emerge, promoting the benefits of vegetarianism and veganism for people of all ages. One such message that is relatively well known by the general public is Eric Schlosser’s 2001 book, *Fast Food Nation*, which promotes the idea that animal-based diets harm one’s personal health, harm the environment, and are course unethical, all while trying to appeal to the mass public

(Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 43-46). More recently, documentaries such as *What the Health* (2017) and *Game Changers* (2019) have strived to show the benefits of a plant-based diet (Andersen and Kuhn; Psihoyos). Works within the research community also play a large role in promoting a vegan lifestyle for the sake of one's health. A keystone study that ties to this frame was a 1980 study *Seven Countries: A Multivariate Study of Death and Coronary Heart Disease* by Ancel Keys *et al.* which looked at populations with varying levels of fat and examined rates of coronary heart disease in relation to the impact of diet and lifestyle (qtd. in Jorgensen 3). While Keys' study and resulting recommendations for low-fat diets have been called into question as newer research found that sugar plays a larger role in contributing to heart disease (Jorgensen 3), Keys' work is still worth understanding as it opened the door to research about the positive effects of veganism on personal health. Animal rights organizations use this research as a gateway to open the door to other health issues often caused by animal product consumption in order to convert people to veganism. More recently, The American Dietetic Association and Dietitians of Canada wrote a position paper stating that vegetarianism is healthy, and even healthier than a diet which consumes animal products, for people of all ages (Cherry, *Culture and Activism*; Emile 22). These works, aimed at improved health, have provided a stable foundation on which animal rights organizations can build their pro-vegan argument.

This frame is an applicable one as of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, as Americans are consuming more meat than ever before. Although decreasing meat consumption is one goal of animal rights activists, some take an optimistic stance by seeing this increase as the next step towards a plant-based diet. Their thought process is as follows: as meat

consumption increases health among the general public is likely to deteriorate, meaning more people will seek solutions to their health problems (Andersen and Kuhn; Psihoyos). With the literature and research available and becoming more prominent in popular culture and available online, it is likely that people will turn to a vegetarian or vegan lifestyle to solve their health problems (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 45). However, animal rights organizations in France have not been as successful in their use of the personal health and nutrition frame. According to Cherry, in *Culture and Activism*, the frame has not had as much success because, unlike the United States, France tends to hold to view that vegetarian and vegan diets are unhealthy (43). Additionally, a history of meat and dairy is so heavily embedded in French culture that the transition to a plant-based diet for the sake of health is harder to justify. However, in her analysis of vegan food blogs in France, Véron found that most blogs focus on health or environmental reasons for going vegan, as opposed to ethics (Véron 9).

By focusing on personal health and nutrition, organizations have created a “savvy rhetorical strategy of focusing on personal needs rather than concerns that may be viewed as political and/or radical” (Jorgensen 3). PETA has gone one step further and adds a sex appeal aspect, by promoting the idea that following a vegan diet will improve one’s looks and sex appeal (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 171; Munro 530). With personal health and body image being such a large facet of the lives of westerners, it is no wonder this is such a widely used strategy. In response to issues of weight gain or deteriorating health, organizations can present their solution frame by stating that by reducing animal product consumption or completely going vegan, one will have better overall health and body satisfaction (Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 173-174).



### *Meat is Murder/ Ethical Frame*

The meat is murder or ethical frame uses an appeal to emotion, a pathos appeal, in order to convince people to cut out their animal product consumption and is the recommended frame for animal rights organizations (Freeman, “Framing Animal Rights” 177; Jasper and Poulsen 505; Munro 535). “The injustice frame constructs cruelty as morally reprehensible because animal suffering, like the suffering of innocent humans, is an effective catalyst for arousing the moral indignation of ordinary people” (Munro 535). Essentially, animal product consumption is framed as contributing to unnecessary and unethical death, pain, and torture of animals and is often related to the suffering of innocent human beings. Prominent literature includes Peter Singer’s *Animal Liberation: Towards an End to Man’s Inhumanity to Animals*, which reasons that farming animals is not humane, so the best way to avoid contributing to the inhumanity is simply to not consume animals or their byproducts (Jorgensen 2; Munro 527–29). Within the frame, a very prominent technique used is that of moral shocks, which has the goal of shifting symbolic boundaries, and often is cited by vegans as a catalytic experience on their journey to veganism (Cherry, “I Was a Teenage Vegan” 57; McDonald 8).

Work by Munro states the importance of “morally challenging images, ‘extreme rhetoric’ and ‘moral shocks’ in recruiting supporters to the animal rights movement” (521). Moral shocks are often used by these organizations at public events where an unexpected crowd is bombarded with morally shocking visuals (Jasper and Poulsen 497). These catalytic experiences are meant to outrage and thus often receive backlash, such as PETA’s Holocaust on Your Plate campaign. However, these moral shocks “serve as the functional equivalent of social networks, drawing people into activism by building

on their existing beliefs” (Jasper and Poulsen 498). By comparing the treatment of animals to the Holocaust, PETA was able to build on the preexisting ethics, thus presenting a case for why people should not consume animals. The moral shocks experienced by those who witness such outlandish displays, such as the one by PETA, are generally recognized as catalytic experiences that are necessary to create a push towards a vegan lifestyle (Hansson and Jacobsson 271–75; McDonald 6; Munro 521).

The goal of these moral shocks and catalytic experiences is to shift or eradicate symbolic boundaries that have been created by humans throughout history (McDonald 8–9). “Symbolic boundaries are the representative idea that humans create boundaries that are socially constructed but have no legitimate reason for being there” (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 452). The boundary between human and animal has been an ongoing debate because, depending on their relationship to humans (companion, food/product, or work) animals were and are treated in different ways (Almiron et al. 75; Lawrence 75). For example, some animals that were powerful and posed threats to humans were treated as gods, while other, less predatory animals became products for human consumption (Almiron et al. 75). Lines were further drawn in order to distinguish Christians and Pagans who did not have clear lines that divided animal and human (Lawrence 76). These early beliefs have persisted in Western culture and thus animal rights organizations today are tasked with disassembling these symbolic boundaries. In the twenty first century animal rights realm, symbolic boundaries often refer to how some animals are seen as members of the family while others are viewed as non-sentient resources. Scholars have argued that eradicating these boundaries is necessary and effective because the, “campaigns allow the group [of viewers] to effectively blur the

distinction between human and nonhuman animals, inviting viewers to rethink their own identities and, thus, their beliefs about animal rights” (Atkins-Sayre 311). Rather than considering animals as resources, animal rights organizations encourage the public to think of animals as individuals with their own unique histories, personalities, and preferences, as we would our pets, rather than thinking with an “us versus them” mentality (Almiron et al. 15). Animal rights organizations hope to shift the views of people to see less of a gap between animals and humans, as research shows that those who oppose the concept of animal rights visualize a much larger gap between humans and animals than those who do not (Sperling 211–13, 217).

In order to shift these views, the methods that animal rights organizations often use is the promotion of collective identity by grouping animals and humans together to show their similarities, rather than their differences, which in turn can help eradicate speciesism (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 453). However, the first method is one that does not necessarily prescribe to the idea of collective identity. This is the method of showing how farm animals and pets are similar, thereby demanding the viewer to question: why is one more valuable than the other (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 454, 460). The general consensus is that humans are morally superior to animals, and while the meat is murder/injustice frame often tries to break this assumption, the compelling “savior archetype” persists. But the question remains: if it is generally accepted by many Western cultures that no human can be seen as superior because of race or gender, why then can the same not be said among species (Garner 164; Munro 537). Organizations such as the Farm Animal Rights Movement spread this idea by stating in their campaigns that, “animals raised for food are just as intelligent, lovable,

and sensitive as the animals we call pets” (qtd. in Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 169).

The remaining techniques involve the anthropomorphizing of animals and the zoomorphism of humans. In the first of these techniques, humans become the animals (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 468). Works such as “The Pig That Therefore I Am” a photography series by Miru Kim (Appendix D), positions the artist as an animal in scenarios experienced by farm animals, such as pigs in a crowded barn, in order to show the similarities between humans and animals as well as the lack of humanity of some situations in which animals are placed ((Cherry, ““The Pig That Therefore I Am”” 65; Kim). Other scenarios, such as one by PETA, turn a woman into a zoo animal, chained and laying on a bed of straw behind bars, while she is painted to look like a tiger (Appendix E) ((Jasper and Poulsen 506; PETA). The advertisements strive to break down the barrier between human and animal, emphasizing the emotions and experiences shared by both (Atkins-Sayre 320; Freeman, "Framing Animal Rights" 172).

Finally, a technique showing the common victimization of humans and animals is used. Animal rights activists “universalize victimization by linking oppressions, abuses, or wrongs done to other groups to the social movement organization’s target group” (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 461). For example, the premise of PETA’s Holocaust on Your Plate campaign “was to use quotes from Jewish scholars comparing the Nazi’s mistreatment and mass killing of Jews in the 1940s to factory farming’s mistreatment and mass killing of nonhuman animals today” (Freeman, “Who’s Harming Whom?” 1). In the United States, activists primarily use these shocking techniques in indirect confrontation (interviews, flyers, etc) whereas in France this tactic is often used

in direct interactions (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 261–62). In both France and the United States the comparison of enslaved humans and people in concentration camps to the enslavement of animals is used (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 461). Véron found in her analysis of French vegan food blogs that French bloggers had varying opinions on the ethics frame (Véron 9).

One stated that “‘in a perfect world, we would center everything on ethics.’ She compared it to the abolition of slavery: ‘it would be ridiculous to say, ‘Stop buying black slaves – it’s bad for the environment’ or ‘Buying too many black slaves is bad for your budget!’”

However, other French bloggers do not see the lack of centering on ethics in the French blogosphere as a problem because “if people are already eating less meat for other reasons, they’ll be more likely to listen to the ethical arguments without taking offense” (Véron 9).

While the ethical frame is the most employed, it is often accompanied by shock tactics (Cherry, “Shifting Symbolic Boundaries” 456; Jorgensen 8). Not all scholars find this to be the best persuasive approach and in fact Freeman notes that organizations should recommend that consumers go vegan or lessen animal product consumption, and be more vocal about farmed animal welfare reform as opposed to creating experiences that shock them into this transition (Freeman, “Framing Animal Rights” 173–75).

However, other scholars disagree with the industry reform solution overall, stating that it “muddles and weakens the corresponding vegan solution by suggesting that industry can improve its animal use instead of insisting that animal use is the problem” (Freeman, “Framing Animal Rights” 175). In terms of all framing used by these organizations, the

best and most useful strategy is likely a combined one, where an appeal to the consumer's rational side and ethics is made that speaks to various aspects of their character and life (Jorgensen 14). Through a deeper understanding of frames and what makes them successful in a lifestyle movement, animal rights organizations can more successfully use their resources to convert the everyday consumer.

### **How Demographic Factors Affect Reactions**

In order to understand how different demographics may have different responses to frames, it is vital to first understand the demographic makeup of animal rights organizations.

#### *United States*

As there is no definitive list of the makeup of animal rights organizations in the United States, I will instead give a comprehensive overview of research that has been conducted on demographics in various manners. What research exists on the demographics involved in animal rights organizations generally comes from surveying demographics of protestors for animal rights. Such research comes from two surveys done in 1988 and 1992 (Jamison and Lunch 444–45; Jasper and Poulsen 502) although a more recent research paper in 2018 compiled data about vegans and vegetarians from all over the United States (Martinelli and Berkmanienė 507). The results of the older studies confirm each other and thus I will give a general overview of the findings and compare those with the more recent research.

If we were to create the average American protestor, she would be a white, 29-year-old, female with an income lower than \$50,000 (although this does not take into account inflation) (Jamison and Lunch 444–45; Jasper and Poulsen 502). This is a point

worth considering, especially as women are expected to maintain various identity roles in society. As more women enter the workforce, they are still expected to maintain their “womanly” duties such as motherhood and housekeeping. Recent research as of 2018 found that about 74 percent of vegans in the United States were female (Martinelli and Berkmanienė 507). Ruddick makes an interesting observation on the position of women in these movements by arguing that “women’s disproportionate role in childrearing gives them a greater degree of ‘maternal thinking’ and abhorrence of violence than men, one reason they were more likely to participate in the peace movement” (Jasper and Poulsen 506). Whether or not this is the case is a highly debatable subject, but it is nevertheless a factor worth considering.

In returning to the demographics of protestors, studies in 1988, 1992, and 2018 found that protestors had some level of higher education, with a small majority having at least some form of college education, but the majority were more educated than carnivores in the United States (Jamison and Lunch 444; Martinelli and Berkmanienė 507; Jasper and Poulsen 502). Jamison and Lunch found that 66 percent of activists tended to live in large urban areas (447) and Martinelli and Berkmanienė found that this remained true in 2018 (507). Studies also found that animal rights activists tend to hold secular or atheist views on religious matters (Jasper and Poulsen 506; Martinelli and Berkmanienė 507). Finally, a noteworthy piece of information in examining the survey results is that all three sources found the protestors to be dominantly politically left of the center (Jamison and Lunch 450; Martinelli and Berkmanienė 507; Jasper and Poulsen 502).

By looking at surveys of protesters and comparing the demographics to more recent data, it is evident that the trends have continued over the past twenty years. The information tells us that in the United States, the majority of vegans are highly educated, liberal, white, secular/atheist females (Martinelli and Berkmaniené 514). This is useful information to understand as it can help further animal rights organizations' understanding of who their frames should target, whether that be in order to keep people in the movement, or to attract new people.

### *France*

Three of the largest animal rights organizations in France are: L214, Brigitte Bardot Foundation, 30 Million Friends, and One Voice. The idea of promoting animal rights through a vegetarian or vegan diet is relatively new in France. It is estimated that around three percent of the French population is vegan which is somewhat low when compared to the United States and other European countries (Mathieu and Dorard 728; Treich 7). French vegans are often women, however French vegetarians are more often men (Allès et al.; Mathieu and Dorard 730). The adoption of a vegan diet in France is associated with a higher level of education, although, unusually, a vegetarian diet in France is correlated with a lower level of education (Allès et al.; Treich 7). Additionally, when compared to omnivores, French vegetarians had a lower body mass index (BMI) (Allès et al.).

### *How Demographics Affect Responses to Frames*

We can understand the vegan or vegetarian lifestyle as a rejection of the hegemony because it goes against the social norms (Judge and Wilson 3). By knowing that the majority of the vegan movement is comprised of women, we can understand that



because women have historically been oppressed, participating in a vegan or vegetarian diet could be a form of rebellion (Boivin 235–36). For this reason, we can assume that women may be more open to accepting the frames used by animal rights organizations. Additionally, women express more positive views towards vegetarians than men do, and it's important to note that vegans are looked upon less favorably than vegetarians by both men and women (Judge and Wilson 3, 7). Finally, vegan activists are rarely taken seriously, even more so when they are women who do not reflect the demographics of those who see their protests (Einwohner 73).

Additionally, researchers have examined the inclusivity of the vegan and vegetarian movement. They have found that although focused on social justice, movement campaigns often rely on stereotypes and prejudices of minority groups, which in turn discourages members of these groups from joining the movement or adopting a vegetarian or vegan lifestyle (Wrenn 2). Because the demographic makeup of these organizations is relatively similar across the United States and France, it is unlikely that demographics in the two respective countries will respond extremely differently to the frames. Instead, it is worth examining the cultural and historic values by each country as a whole, in order to determine which frame is more successful.

## **History of Animal Rights Organizations in the United States and France**

### *General History*

Vegetarianism and veganism can be traced back to philosophers such as Bentham, Stuart Mill, and Sidgwick who focused on animal rights, although the idea that animals were for the exploitation of man can be seen in the Bible and works from Kant and Aristotle (Treich 15). One phrase, written by Bentham (1789) nicely summarizes ideas of

activists at the time, “Si un animal souffre, il n’existe pas de justification morale profonde pour ignorer cette souffrance” (qtd. in Treich 15) ‘If an animal suffers, there is no moral justification great enough to ignore that suffering’. This mantra is also found in the hugely influential work by Peter Singer, *La Libération Animale*, (Animal Liberation) (Jorgensen 2). Singer wrote that “all sentient beings can feel pleasure and pain, they deserve equal consideration” (qtd. in Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 16).

The first modern animal rights movement arose in England in 1970 with the popularization of the word “speciesism” (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 3). Movements in France and the United States were relatively similar in the 1970s and 80s. While actions weren’t focused on reducing the number of animals used for food, they were instead focused on animals used for fur and research. According to Cherry, three elements contributed to the rise of the movement (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 12–13). First, pets as companions became popular. Second, modern medicine and vivisection saw a great expansion. Third, the industrial revolution caused the rich to become richer and push for a better society. The split in the movements of France and the United States occurred at this time when their tactics changed.

### *United States History*

Early examples of animal rights organizations in the United States include the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty of Animals and the American Anti-Vivisection Society, both founded in the mid-1800s (“About Us”; “Our History”). As these early organizations developed, they grew more conservative and focused more strictly on cats and dogs but not farm animals (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 13). As the movement entered its second wave, the use of stereotypes and prejudices began to be

more apparent in campaigns. During this time, “racism, sexism, and disdain for immigrants and non-Westerners continued to serve as fodder for campaigning” (Wrenn 2). However, this did not diminish the fight for better animal welfare, even in farms, which continued and in 1958 Congress adopted a law for improved slaughter conditions (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 14).

Origins of organizations that focus on improved animal welfare by means of diet have slightly different roots than those that focus on animal rights through other means. Sylvester Graham promoted and popularized a vegetarian diet for health reasons in the 1850s (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 15). The first meeting of the American Vegetarian Society occurred in New York in 1850 and “included a variety of dietary reformers who promoted meatless diets, including physicians, social reformers, water purists, Grahamites, and Bible Christians, the first proto-vegetarian group in the United States” (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 15). However, during and between the world wars, “a diet without meat represented austerity and bleakness” thus discouraging a vegetarian diet (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 15).

After the war, the animal rights movement entered its first modern wave which “focused on [eliminating] fur, hunting, and animal testing” and began campaigning with direct action (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 15). The second wave focused on the “regulation of industrialized animal agriculture” because 98 percent of animal deaths in the United States are those of farm animals (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 19). Because of a lack of success, the second wave emerged, and tactics of activists changed. Wrenn eloquently describes the reason for the change as being due to

Activist impatience and dissatisfaction with the unrelenting suffering of other animals . . . long [being] the bane of American veganism. From this frustration, the second wave of Nonhuman Animal rights activism in the late 20th century embraced direct actions, such as street protest, illegal open rescues, vandalism, and extreme intimidation of employees in speciesist industries. (Wrenn 4)

These modern movements focused on promoting vegan diets. During this time, activists became more critical of the racism, sexism, and prejudice in the movement itself and in its campaigns. Specifically, feminists tried to take control of the situation by being “critical of sexist and racist campaigning and movement dynamics” (Wrenn 3) and speaking out against the evident discrimination prevalent in the organizations.

Animal rights in the United States is in a large period of change. The movement has grown to encompass more than its original framing strategies of ethics and health and it continues to grow. Perhaps in future years it will evolve to more largely encompass the environmental frame as the “Going Green” trend expands.

### *France History*

For all intents and purposes, France should have theoretically been an optimal country for veganism to thrive in, according to Cherry (*Culture and Activism* 4). The early Christian church was composed of primarily vegetarians and in order to improve their moral standing and remain clean, they abstained from things such as meat and alcohol (Mathieu and Dorard 727).

It was not until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that laws regarding animals were introduced into French culture when in 1810, abattoirs (slaughterhouses) were developed in Paris (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 12). This was due to the idea that a decent public would

not want to see animals slaughtered in the streets. The animal rights movement in France grew at this time for three reasons:

First, companion animals became the doted-upon “pets” we know today. . .

During this time, people favored dogs because they saw dogs as loyal. . . Second, the rise of modern medicine, and especially the practice of vivisection, created another dilemma for pet lovers. . . Third, and finally, as the rich grew richer during industrialization, there was an increasing call in both countries for them to work toward the betterment of society. (Cherry, 12–13)

From this, the anti-speciest movement grew in France and the vegetarian movement prospered until just before the world wars. While activists in the United States turned toward direct action for farm animals, in France, the companion animals were the focus (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 21).

One of the earlier animal rights organizations in France, the Société Protectrice des Animaux (Animal Protective Society) “promoted animal protection by engaging a narrative of modernity” (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 14). For example, “using an economic argument, protectionists claimed that horses were a form of capital, and that their mistreatment and massacre was a waste. Treating horses better, they argued, would make them work more and worth more” (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 14). Other examples of animal rights organizations not promoting veganism can be seen in one of the largest organizations in France: The Brigitte Bardot Organization. The founder, Brigitte Bardot, does not promote veganism and described it as extreme (“Interview”). However, this view of veganism as an extreme method of animal and environmental protection is changing in France. As environmentalism becomes trendier, and the link

between meat consumption and greenhouses gases becomes more evident, the beef consumption in France has decreased (Treich 6). In fact, France has recently made a law that all school cafeterias must serve at least one vegetarian meal per week (Graveleau). It is clear that France is in a period of change that is shifting more towards pro vegetarian and pro vegan lifestyles, perhaps not driven by animal ethics, but instead by the environment.

### **Understanding How Culture Affects Responses to Frames**

There are three unique aspects that create major cultural differences among France and the United States, which in turn affect perceptions of veganism and vegetarianism. This section will examine how these two countries differ on animal agriculture, respect for the environment, and consumption habits.

#### *Animal Agriculture*

Animal agriculture is an enormous industry in the United States and France and both countries frequently give their animals antibiotics to keep them in good health, but antibiotics cause environmental problems and health problems in the humans that consume the meat (Finlay and Marcus 165). In both countries, the politics of antibiotic use for farm animals is similar and represents a disregard for the research against heavy usage and a desire to focus on production gains (Finlay and Marcus 165).

Before understanding the laws surrounding animal agriculture it is necessary to understand the number of animals killed each year. In France, around 9.59 billion land animals are killed, while in the United States, about 22.9 billion are slaughtered yearly (“2019 U.S. Animal Kill Clock”; Treich 2). The site, World Animal Protection, gives each country a grade (A through G, A being the best and G the worst) based on their

recognition of animal protection, governance structures and systems, animal welfare standards, provided education about animal care and protection, and ultimately promotion of communication and awareness. In general, France was slightly better than the United States, earning a C while the United States received a D (“Compare | World Animal Protection”).

### *Respect for the Environment*

Environmentalism has recently become all the rage and with it, new discussions and worldwide initiatives have emerged and can even be considered a sort of “nouvelle religion” (new religion), led by none other than the truth speaking Greta Thornberg (“L’écologisme, « Une Nouvelle Religion » (Jérôme Fourquet)”). This large push for more environmentally conscious living is relatively new, the modern movement having begun in both countries primarily in the 1960s and 70s (Gordon 1; Massard-Guilbaud). “In the past decade, both countries [France and the United States] have also seen environmentalism move to the forefront of mainstream public and political concern, even beyond the Green political parties that exist in both countries” (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 28). However, recently the United States and France have had quite different reactions. One declaration stands out: The Paris Agreement, an accord among over 146 countries whose goal “is to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change. . . Additionally, the agreement aims to strengthen the ability of countries to deal with the impacts of climate change (“The Paris Agreement | UNFCCC”). This fight is led by France and the United Nations, but recently, the United States’ President, Donald Trump, pulled the country out of the accord (“U.S. Exits Paris Climate Agreement”). This

demonstrates a reluctance on the part of the United States, which is represented by the president, to commit to a monetary international level of environmental protection.

However, this is not the only environmental difference between the two countries. One article, *What Makes Europe Greener than the U.S.?* explores cultural and historical differences that make it easier to be more environmentally friendly and conscious in Europe rather than in the United States. One of the major differences is the age and construction of the countries. Rosenthal explains that “If nearly everyone is carrying a plastic bag (as in New York City) you don’t feel so bad. But if no one does (as in Dublin) you feel pretty irresponsible” (Rosenthal). By understanding how different cultures regard the environment and the battle against climate change, we can better hypothesize frame success.

### *Consumption Habits*

As we have seen, France is more progressive in terms of animal rights laws and in environmental protection initiatives, but their consumption habits tell another story. In 2010 French cuisine was declared by UNESCO and immaterial world heritage site (Véron 1; Samuel). This means that the heavy use of butter and dairy is unlikely to leave the French dinner table anytime soon. Research does show that French people are more likely to follow the recommended dietary and exercise intake levels than Americans (Powell et al.) and French children eat more fruits and vegetables than their American counterparts (Kerns).

This information is important to the study of vegetarianism and veganism because it indicates that the French are more conscious of their consumption habits and the effects



of food on their wellbeing. By understanding this idea, we can make the assumption that French people might be more influenced by the health frame than Americans would be.

### **Conclusion**

The field of animal rights studies is not broad, but there is sufficient research on animal rights organizations and the frames they use. What lacks is research on the everyday consumer's response to these frames. The research has shown that animal rights organizations are unique lifestyle movements which strive to create large and lasting social change, but in order to do this, they must focus on changing the individual's lifestyle.

These organizations aim to make this change through the use of three major frames: environment and food systems, personal health and nutrition, and meat is murder/injustice. The environment and food system frame attempts to convert people by teaching them about the negative effects of animal product consumption on the environment and how world hunger could be lessened with a vegan diet. The personal health and nutrition frame is more tactful in that it attempts to convert the viewer by showing them how their health and nutrition will be improved with a vegan diet. Finally, the meat is murder/injustice frame appeals to the viewer's ethical side through several strategies. These include the anthropomorphizing of animals, the zoomorphism of humans, and the comparison of pets to animals used as products. These frames have generally been found to be successful when they provide a catalytic, or shocking, experience to the viewer. Research has often found that it is in these moments that people become more open minded to the possibility of a lifestyle change, whether that be for the sake of the environment, their health, or animal welfare.

These frames are widely used throughout animal rights organizations in the United States and France, with varying levels of success due to cultural differences. As we move forward to explore one of the most controversial social movements of the era (Munro 539), this study will look at these cultural differences and how they can help us understand the effectiveness of frames as used by animal rights organizations in the United States and France.

## **Le travail des organisations de défense des droits des animaux en France et aux États-Unis**

Les effets sur l'environnement de l'élevage des animaux ont récemment été mis sur le devant de la scène mondiale, à cause de leur association avec le changement climatique (Pouliquen; Taherzadeh and Probst). Avec l'augmentation des discussions et des études au sujet des connections entre l'alimentation omnivore et le changement climatique, il devient évident, que bien qu'il y ait une littérature au sujet des organisations des droits des animaux, il y a un manque de recherche sur la manière dont ces organisations peuvent avoir plus de succès avec la définition de leurs messages.

Les cadres de communication sont définis comme « packages of proposals and critiques that fit together to highlight certain aspects of the issues » (Jasper and Poulsen 495) 'groupes de propositions et des critiques qui sont complémentaires les uns des autres pour mettre en évidence certains aspects d'un problème'<sup>2</sup>. Dans le cas de ces organisations, les cadres de communication sont utiles pour changer la façon dont on pense aux droits des animaux. Les trois approches communicatives les plus courantes sont celles de la santé, le bien-être de l'animal, et l'environnement (Atkins-Sayre 309; Emile 21F; Freeman 169–73; Jorgensen 7–13; Mathieu and Dorard 729; Véron 9).

Pour mieux déterminer les moyens d'améliorer le succès des cadres de communication par les organisations des droits des animaux, ce chapitre va examiner les données démographiques de ces groupes en France avant d'étudier leurs histoires aux États-Unis et en France. Finalement, nous allons considérer comment la culture peut affecter la réponse aux approches communicatives.

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<sup>2</sup> Toutes les traductions sont les miennes.

*Comprendre la composition des données démographiques des organisations de défense des droits des animaux et la façon dont elles peuvent influencer les réactions aux cadres de communication*

La France – les données démographiques des organisations de défense des droits des animaux

Avant de nous pencher les données démographiques des végétaliens et végétariens en France, un examen des organisations françaises de défense des animaux nous permettra peut-être de mieux comprendre comment la population française va réagir aux diverses approches.

Bien qu'il y ait plus de trente organisations françaises qui soutiennent la cause de la protection des animaux, il y en a quatre qui se distinguent en France pour leur rôle dans l'acceptation et la compréhension des droits des animaux : L214, 30 Millions d'Amis, One Voice et La Fondation Brigitte Bardot ("Les grandes associations"). L'organisation L214 est née en 2008 avec le but de faire appliquer l'article L214, qui fait référence à l'article L214 du code rural qui dit, « Tout animal étant un être sensible doit être placé par son propriétaire dans des conditions compatibles avec les impératifs biologiques de son espèce » (L214). Cependant l'organisation croit qu'elle n'est pas prise au sérieux en France. Une grande partie de sa mission consiste à faire de ce code une réalité. L'association 30 Millions d'Amis a été fondée en juin 1996 avec les buts de « valoriser l'image de l'animal auprès du public, [et] insister sur son rôle bénéfique » (Fondation 30 Millions d'Amis). One Voice a été créé par Muriel Arnal en 1995. Les activités trop radicales, mais non-violentes font partie de ses missions et c'est elle qui a révélé l'affaire de la vache folle en 1995 (One Voice). Toutes ces associations ont le but de protéger les animaux, mais les méthodes utilisées pour l'accomplir vont de ne pas manger pas les

créatures à défendre celles qui sont domestiquées. Finalement, La Fondation Brigitte Bardot a été établie par l'actrice en 1973 après son départ du cinéma pour consacrer sa vie à la cause animale (La Fondation Brigitte Bardot). C'était un des premiers noms très connus en France à soutenir cette cause.

Il serait utile d'examiner la prévalence du végétalisme en France parce qu'il est relativement nouveau. La recherche se développe sur la population des végétaliens et des militants français. Il est estimé qu'environ 2 à 3 pour cent de la population française (1,2 à 1,8 million de personnes) sont végétaliens, un chiffre qui est plus bas qu'aux États-Unis, en Angleterre, ou en Allemagne (Mathieu and Dorard 728; Treich 7). On estime que la plupart sont des Jeunes (moins de 65 ans et la plupart entre 18-30) (Allès et al.; Lecerf 380; Treich 7). Comme leurs homologues américains, les chercheurs français suggèrent que les végétariens en France sont plus souvent des femmes (Mathieu and Dorard 730) cependant, une étude française révèle que les végétaliens sont plus souvent des hommes, une conclusion qui est opposé à celle aux États-Unis (Allès et al.). Plusieurs études ont démontré que l'adoption du régime alimentaire végétarien est liée à un plus haut niveau d'éducation (Allès et al.; Treich 7) mais Allès et ses associés dans le domaine de la santé et de la nutrition ont trouvé que les végétaliens avaient un niveau d'éducation plus moyen, un résultat inhabituel. Une étude a noté que les végétariens ont un revenu faible à modéré, tandis que les végétaliens ont des revenus modérés (Allès et al.). C'est aussi intéressant de remarquer que comparés aux sujets omnivores, les végétariens en France avaient un IMC (indice de masse corporelle) plus faible (Allès et al.). Finalement, le fait de vivre seul était trouvé comme une caractéristique commune aux végétariens/végétaliens (Allès et al.).

Pour conclure, nous pouvons visualiser une image d'un végétarien français en la décrivant comme une jeune femme - probablement blanche si les données démographiques françaises sont conformes à celles des États-Unis (Einwohner 1–2) qui est cultivée et de classe moyenne. Cependant, si la personne est végétalienne et française, c'est probablement un jeune homme blanc. En comprenant ces données démographiques, la recherche sur l'impact des publicités militant par droits des animaux peut devenir plus cohérente.

Comment la démographie affecte les réponses aux cadres de communication

La recherche indique qu'il y a trois cadres de communication généraux qui influencent les opinions et l'adoption d'une alimentation respectueuse des animaux : le genre, la tendance politique et la situation minoritaire. En général, « the practices of vegetarianism may symbolize a rejection of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal structures » (Judge and Wilson 3) 'les pratiques du végétarisme peuvent symboliser un rejet de la masculinité hégémonique et des structures patriarcales'. Cette phrase peut aider à expliquer pourquoi il y a des données démographiques spécifiques qui sont plus enclines à adopter le végétarisme et le végétalisme que les autres. Nous allons examiner comment ces trois aspects influencent les réponses aux cadrages : en commençant par le genre, en continuant avec la tendance politique et en finissant finalement par la situation minoritaire.

Par exemple, comme nous avons vu, la plupart des végétariennes sont des femmes (Allès et al.). Historiquement, les femmes ont été opprimées par les hommes et cette situation semble d'actualité. Dans un monde où même la langue française est sexiste et patriarcale, un régime végétarien et végétalien qui rejette les modes de vie traditionnels à

base de viande, est aussi un rejet de ce patriarcat (Boivin 235–36). Pour cette raison, il est raisonnable de supposer que les femmes qui sont contre cette oppression sont plus susceptibles d'être influencées par les approches communicatives utilisées par les organisations de défense des droits des animaux. Malheureusement, comme on l'a vu dans le Chapitre IV, un échantillon biaisé et le manque de temps n'ont pas permis une analyse plus approfondie de la façon dont le sexe affectait la réponse au cadre.

D'autre part, il est nécessaire de comprendre que parce que la plupart des activistes sont des femmes blanches, elles sont moins susceptibles d'être prises au sérieux par des hommes ou des non-blancs (Einwohner 73). La recherche suggère que les hommes expriment des attitudes plus négatives envers les végétariens que les femmes et que leur position sur les végétaliens est moins favorable que celle sur les végétariens (Judge and Wilson 3, 7). Alors, il n'est pas surprenant que les activistes végétaliens soient rarement pris au sérieux, étant donné qu'ils sont composés d'une majorité de femmes, ce qui montre l'importance de comprendre les données démographiques de ceux qui regardent les publicités et qui voient les manifestations ou des images de celles-ci.

Comme pour tout, la politique joue un rôle majeur dans la défense des droits des animaux. Selon Judge et Wilson, « RWA [Rightwing Authoritarianism] was positively associated with increasingly negative attitudes towards vegetarians and vegans and mediated a positive relationship between a dangerous worldview and increasingly negative » (7) 'RWA [L'autoritarisme de droite] a été corrélativement associé à des attitudes de plus en plus négatives envers les végétariens et les végétaliens et a négocié une relation positive entre une vision dangereuse du monde et de plus en plus négative'.

Évidemment, la position politique joue un rôle majeur sur les opinions et l'ouverture d'esprit.

Il est aussi prouvé que les gens qui sont plus « à droite » mangent plus de viande que ceux qui sont plus « à gauche » (Hodson and Earle 75). Les conservateurs sont plus susceptibles de s'éloigner des régimes végétaliens, pas nécessairement à cause de leur envie de manque de viande, mais en partie à cause du manque de soutien social (Hodson and Earle 79). La recherche montre que ce soutien est essentiel pour maintenir ces régimes alimentaires spéciaux (Cherry, "I Was a Teenage Vegan" 57). Comme la majorité des végétaliens et des végétariens en France et aux États-Unis sont « à gauche », nous pouvons comprendre pourquoi les conservateurs, même s'ils ont momentanément adopté un régime végétalien, trouvent celui-ci difficile à maintenir.

Finalement, il y a des discussions au sein de la population végétarienne et végétalienne au sujet du racisme intracommunautaire et de l'inaccessibilité du végétalisme pour les groupes minoritaires. Selon, Wrenn, « Despite its historical association with social justice movements, the Nonhuman Animal rights movement (the progenitor of veganism), is rooted in colonialist and racist resistance to egalitarianism » (2) 'malgré son association historique avec des mouvements pour une plus grande justice sociale, les droits des animaux non humains (le précurseur du végétalisme), est ancré dans la résistance colonialiste et raciste à l'égalitarisme'. Nous pouvons voir ce manque de respect montré dans les campagnes de PETA qui exploitent la stigmatisation. Les publicités et les manifestations s'appuient sur « the preexisting prejudices of the American population with hopes of appealing privilege and in-group solidarity » (Wrenn 2) '[elles s'appuient sur] les préjugés préexistants de la population américaine dans



l'espoir d'être attrayant au privilège et à la solidarité au sein des gens branchés'. C'est-à-dire que ces organisations, spécifiquement PETA, emploient des stratégies de communication dans laquelle les femmes vaniteuses portent de la fourrure, les Asiatiques 'sauvages' mangent des chiens et des chats et les Noirs encouragent les combats entre chiens (Wrenn 2–3). À cause de ces publicités, les minorités qui sont exploitées sont moins enclines à joindre le mouvement des droits des animaux.

En examinant comment les mouvements de défense des droits des animaux interagissent et ne présentent le genre, la tendance politique et la situation minoritaire, nous pouvons développer une meilleure idée de la manière dont comment ces groupes sont influencés par les cadrages.

### *L'Histoire des organisations de défense des droits des animaux aux États-Unis et en France*

#### Histoire générale

Nous pouvons retracer le mouvement du végétarisme et du végétalisme aux philosophes comme Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832), John Stuart Mill (1806 - 1873) et Henry Sidgwick (1838 - 1900) qui ont soutenu la cause des droits des animaux (Treich 15). « Historiquement, l'exclusion des produits animaux de l'alimentation était légitimée par des raisons éthiques et spirituelles, dont on trouve déjà mention chez certains philosophes grecs tels que Platon et Pythagore » (Mathieu and Dorard 727). Cependant, il existe d'autres littératures influentes comme la Bible et les ouvrages de Kant (1724 – 1804) et Aristote (384 BC – 322 BC), ont promu l'idée que ces créatures sont inférieures et qui sont en faveur de leur exploitation par les humains (Treich 14–15). Ce n'est qu'après l'introduction des études en éthologie, l'examen du comportement animal, dans les années 1920 ("Ethology | Biology"), que la société s'informe « sur la sensibilité,

l'intelligence et les capacités des animaux, qui ont des émotions, sont conscients d'eux-mêmes, fabriquent des outils, utilisent la communication symbolique, sont capables d'évaluer l'état mental des autres animaux et ont développé des systèmes de résolution des conflits » (Treich 14–15). Selon Bentham (1789), un des « grands pionniers de la tradition utilitariste », une phrase résume bien les idées générales des défenseurs des droits des animaux : « Si un animal souffre, il n'existe pas de justification morale profonde pour ignorer cette souffrance » (Treich 15). Ce mantra est encore trouvé dans l'ouvrage de Peter Singer qui a « fournit les assises intellectuelles du mouvement contemporain de protection des animaux » (Létourneau 6) avec son livre, *La Libération Animale* (1975) (Jorgensen 2).

Selon Cherry, une chercheure, figure d'autorité au sujet de l'histoire du végétalisme en France et aux États-Unis, le premier mouvement moderne (pour les droits de tous les animaux et pas uniquement ceux comme des chats et des chiens) a commencé en Angleterre dans les années 1970 avec la publication d'images de pratiques terrifiantes utilisées sur les animaux (*Culture and Activism* 3). Pendant ces années, le terme 'spécisme', qui est « la discrimination en fonction de l'appartenance d'espèce biologique » (Jaquet 2) a été créé par philosophe anglais, Richard Ryder, en 1970, mais il faut attendre le livre de Singer pour que le mot soit largement popularisé (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 17; Team). La publication de *La Libération Animale* (1975), a permis d'amorcer une discussion dans les domaines académiques au sujet de l'alimentation végétarienne pour les raisons éthiques. Singer a déclaré que parce que « all sentient beings can feel pleasure and pain, they deserve equal consideration » (qtd. dans Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 16) 'tous les êtres sensibles peuvent ressentir du plaisir et de la

douleur, ils méritent une considération égale' et la meilleure façon d'éliminer la souffrance est tout simplement de ne pas consommer d'animaux. Les mêmes idées sur l'alimentation comme étant morale sont décrites dans « *The Case for Animal Rights* » (1983) par le philosophe américain Tom Regan (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 16; Létourneau 6).

Les vagues qui suivent sont similaires en France et aux États-Unis dans les années 1970 et 80 à cause des protestations des défenseurs des droits des animaux contre la recherche « in vivo » (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 17–18). Ces actions des premiers activistes ne se sont pas focalisées sur la consommation d'animaux, mais sur leur exploitation pour la recherche et la fourrure. En France et aux États-Unis, il y a eu trois éléments qui ont contribué à l'apparition du mouvement, selon Cherry : premièrement, les animaux de compagnie sont devenus populaires, deuxièmement, la médecine moderne et la vivisection ont connu une expansion et finalement, à cause de la révolution industrielle, les gens aisés se sont enrichis, ce qui a causé une demande de changement pour rehausser la qualité de vie qui a eu un impact favorable sur la société (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 12–13). Le changement s'est passé dans les années 1980 quand les activistes ont changé leurs tactiques pour se concentrer sur les animaux d'élevage, ceux-ci constituant par majorité des animaux abattus dans intérêt humain. C'est à ce moment que les mouvements en France et aux États-Unis ont bifurqué et ont connu des succès différents (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 3).

### Histoire des droits des animaux aux États-Unis

Il est bien connu que les États-Unis est un pays très jeune, mais en même temps, les Américains ont une histoire riche, notamment du point de vue des droits des animaux

et du végétarianisme. Il serait utile d'examiner les sociétés américaines et leurs origines avant de discuter du mouvement des animaux 'non humains', et finalement, les deux vagues de droits des animaux, qui sont différents des origines du végétarianisme et végétalisme.

On peut trouver les premiers exemples aux États-Unis dans l'organisation contre la violence faite aux Hommes et aux animaux et le ASPCA - American Society for the Prevention to Cruelty of Animals (Société américaine pour la prévention de la cruauté envers les animaux) qui a été fondé en 1866 et qui a inspiré de la société du même nom anglais ("About Us"). De plus, l'AAVS - American Anti-Vivisection Society (Société américaine antivivisection) est créé en 1883, s'est ajoutée au mouvement des droits des animaux (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 13). Mais, les deux se sont développées et sont devenues plus conservatrices, en se focalisant sur les droits des chats et des chiens et non pas sur l'élevage agricole.

Venons-en maintenant au début du 19ème siècle, quand le mouvement pour les droits des animaux, le précurseur du végétalisme, s'est développé. Malheureusement, c'était un symbole de l'exploitation de populations minoritaires et des différences de classes sociales (Wrenn 2). Par exemple, pendant ces années, le fossé entre les classes sociales s'est creusé non seulement dans la vie quotidienne, mais aussi dans les médias et « as the movement entered its second wave in the mid-20th century, racism, sexism, and disdain for immigrants and non-Westerners continued to serve as fodder for campaigning » (Wrenn 2) 'alors que le mouvement entraînait dans sa deuxième vague au milieu du XXe siècle, le racisme, le sexisme et le mépris pour les immigrants et les non-Occidentaux continuaient d'alimenter la campagne politique'. Ces origines négatives

n'ont pas été prises en compte car les campagnes ont continué d'exploiter les groupes minoritaires (Wrenn 2–3). Mais, l'effort pour améliorer les droits des animaux s'est poursuivies et en 1958, le Congrès américain a adopté une loi en faveur des méthodes plus humaines d'abattage, mais le mouvement moderne n'a pas encore pris d'ampleur (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 14).

Les origines des mouvements des droits des animaux ont divergé de celles du végétarisme aux États-Unis. Les origines ont commencé à croître en raison d'un nouveau désir de santé qui a émergé avec Sylvester Graham, un homme qui a promu l'alimentation végétarienne comme une réforme de santé (Bevilacqua 4; Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 15; Gerbaud 306; Ouédraogo 4). Le premier rendez-vous du American Vegetarian Society (Société végétarienne américaine) s'est passé en 1850 à New York et était avais compris de tous types des gens, comme, par exemple, mais sans y être limité, des personnes religieuses, des médecins, et des philanthropes qui s'intéressaient à un régime sans viande (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 15; Ouédraogo 4). Mais cette perspective du végétarisme comme bon pour la santé a diminué pendant les guerres mondiales, à cause du rationnement alimentaire où « a diet without meat represented austerity and bleakness » (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 15) 'un régime sans viande représentait l'austérité et la morosité'. À la fin des deux guerres, les repas ont compris de la viande qui faisait ont fait penser à la prospérité.

Après les guerres, le mouvement s'est passé à ce que Cherry appelle « the 'first wave' of contemporary animal rights activists [which] largely focused on fur, hunting, and animal testing » (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 17) 'la « première vague » de défenseurs contemporains des droits des animaux [qui] s'est largement concentrée sur la

fourrure, la chasse et l'expérimentation animale'. Les organisations comme Animal Liberation Front (ALF) et People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) se sont engagées dans l'action directe pour démontrer l'exploitation animale.

La « deuxième vague » s'est focalisée sur un programme de proximité végétalien et au sujet de la « regulation of industrialized animal agriculture » (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 19) 'réglementation de l'agriculture animale industrialisée'. Aux États-Unis, 98 pourcent des morts animales sont à cause de la ferme, ainsi, en se spécialisant dans les efforts de réduction de la consommation de viande, les militants espéraient apporter un changement plus significatif (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 19). Wrenn décrit de manière éloquente ce changement :

Activist impatience and dissatisfaction with the unrelenting suffering of other animals has long been the bane of American veganism. From this frustration, the second wave of Nonhuman Animal rights activism in the late 20th century embraced direct actions, such as street protest, illegal open rescues, vandalism, and extreme intimidation of employees in speciesist industries (Wrenn 4)

'L'impatience et l'insatisfaction des activistes face à la souffrance incessante d'autres animaux ont longtemps été le fléau du végétalisme américain. De cette frustration, la deuxième vague d'activisme pour les droits des animaux 'non humains' à la fin du XXe siècle a adopté des actions directes, telles que la protestation de rue, les sauvetages illégaux visibles, le vandalisme et l'intimidation extrême des employés des industries spécistes'.

Nous pouvons voir une partie de cette même frustration aujourd'hui alors que les États-Unis sont restés dans cette deuxième vague.

Les militants d'aujourd'hui essaient de promouvoir un mode de vie végétalien et ils travaillent à réduire le sexisme et le racisme dans les campagnes des mouvements. Spécifiquement les féministes sont en train de prendre contrôle de cette situation en étant « critical of sexist and racist campaigning and movement dynamics » (Wrenn 3) 'critiquant envers les campagnes sexistes et racistes et même envers la dynamique des mouvements'. Bien que le mouvement végétalien aux Etats-Unis soit dominé par les femmes, les hommes qui font partie de la campagne « experience a glass escalator effect in quickly rising to become celebrity leaders and grassroots heroes. The feminist critique disturbs the vital flow of adoration that supports and motivates these activists, particularly in the direct action faction. » (Wrenn 3) '[ils] éprouvent un « effet d'escalateur de verre » [expression dérivée « du plafond de verre » qui signifie que les hommes atteignent plus rapidement et facilement des rôles de leadership que les femmes] l'ascension rapidement pour devenir des chefs célèbres et des héros ordinaires. La critique féministe perturbe le flux vital d'adoration qui soutient et motive ces militants, en particulier dans la faction de l'action directe'.

Les droits des animaux aux Etats-Unis sont dans une période de changement et les débats qui les entourent connaissent un taux de croissance rapide, comme le montre des nouvelles récentes au sujet des droits des animaux (Agravante; Chokshi; Cross; Schwartz). Bien que le mouvement change dans ses stratégies de cadrage (éthiques et santé), il continue de croître. Peut-être que dans les années à venir, il évoluera pour être vu sous un angle de mouvement écologique en faveur d'un monde plus vert.

## Histoire des droits des animaux à la France

Selon l'autrice Elizabeth Cherry, la France aurait dû être un pays optimal dans lequel le mouvement pour les droits des animaux aurait pu s'épanouir (*Culture and Activism* 4). Au début de l'histoire du véganisme en France en XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, « L'Église chrétienne, dont les membres étaient principalement végétariens, [a] propos[é] une solution morale reposant sur une alimentation saine, sobre, dénuée de viande et d'alcool pour apaiser les conflits sociaux » (Mathieu and Dorard 727). Cette idée était renforcée par les croyances qui ont émergé sur l'hygiène (Baubérot, "Un Projet de Réforme Hygénique Des Modes de Vie" 2) et les « crises sociales et économiques conduisant à une certaine pénurie alimentaire » qui a encouragé la réduction de la viande et des produits laitiers dans l'alimentation quotidienne (Mathieu and Dorard 727).

Le gouvernement a commencé à promulguer des lois au sujet des droits des animaux au dix-neuvième siècle (Cherry, "Shifting Symbolic Boundaries"). Ce n'est qu'en 1810 que des abattoirs ont été créés à Paris, à cause d'un désir croissant de sécurité publique et parce que les premiers défenseurs des droits des animaux voulaient que les animaux soient abattus sans cruauté dans un environnement contrôlé (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 12). Ce désir d'une protection plus forte, était le résultat de trois causes, comme l'explique Cherry :

First, companion animals became the doted-upon "pets" we know today. . .

During this time, people favored dogs because they saw dogs as loyal. . . Second, the rise of modern medicine, and especially the practice of vivisection, created another dilemma for pet lovers. . . Third, and finally, as the rich grew richer during industrialization, there was an increasing call in both countries for them to



work toward the betterment of society. (Cherry, *Culture and Activism: Animal Rights in France and the United States* 12–13).

‘Premièrement, les animaux de compagnie sont devenus les « animaux domestiques » que nous connaissons aujourd'hui. . . À cette époque, les gens favorisaient les chiens parce qu'ils les voyaient comme loyaux. . . Deuxièmement, la naissance de la médecine moderne, et en particulier la pratique de la vivisection, a créé un autre dilemme pour les amoureux des animaux de compagnie. . . Troisièmement, et enfin, comme les riches s'enrichissaient pendant l'industrialisation, il y a une exigence croissante dans les deux pays de travailler de plus en plus à l'amélioration de la société’.

Ces tournants ont marqué la naissance du mouvement anti spéciste. En 1903, Louis Rimbault a participé «à la fondation de la première colonie libertaire française » où tout le monde était végétarien et abstinent (en alcool, en viande, etc) (Baubérot, “Aux sources de l’écologie anarchiste” 67). Après avoir essayé de devenir plus respectueux et proche de la terre, Rimbault a fait la transition entre végétarien et végétalien (Baubérot, “Aux sources de l’écologie anarchiste” 68). Rimbault a donné de « nombreuses conférences à Paris et [à] Tours » au sujet de sa cité végétalienne (Baubérot, “Aux sources de l’écologie anarchiste” 70) et il est possible qu’il soit l’une des premières personnes ayant exposé la France au végétalisme. Cet homme a essayé d’ouvrir un foyer végétalien à Paris en 1920. Il a écrit dans *Le Néo-naturien* que « ‘Le carnivorisme, c’est la lutte universelle, c’est l’homme retournant à la barbarie, c’est la nature détroussée, c’est l’humanité en esclavage, c’est l’animal rendu pervers’ ; tandis que ‘le végétalisme, c’est la réconciliation avec la nature’ » (Baubérot, “Aux sources de l’écologie

anarchiste” 71). Mais Rimbault a été une exception un peu étrange en comparaison avec d’autres organisations.

C’était aussi pendant cette période, La Belle Epoque (1871-1914), que la discussion au sujet des bienfaits sur la santé du végétarisme, a conjoint à celle de la propreté, a évolué (Baubérot, “Un Projet de Réforme Hygiénique Des Modes de Vie” 3). Ernest Bonnejoy, un docteur et « l’un des plus ardents propagateurs du végétarisme dans les années 1890, se montre ainsi convaincu de la nécessité de conformer son existence aux lois que la nature impose à la physiologie humaine » (3). De plus, la Société végétarienne de France, fondée en 1899, s’est focalisée sur les bienfaits sur la santé du végétarisme et pas vraiment sur le côté éthique (8–9). Plutôt, il y a d’autres organisations à cette fin.

La première organisation, des droits des animaux influente en France était la Société Protectrice des Animaux fondée en 1845 (La SPA), qui était forcément opposée à la vivisection (Lalouette 157). Leurs militants « promoted animal protection by engaging a narrative of modernity » (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 14) Ils ont ‘encouragé la protection des animaux en s’impliquant dans un récit plus moderne’. Ils ont utilisé des arguments économiques ; par exemple « protectionists claimed that horses were a form of capital, and that their mistreatment and massacre was a waste. Treating horses better, they argued, would make them work more and worth more » (14) ‘les protectionnistes ont affirmé que les chevaux étaient une forme de capital, et que leurs mauvais traitements et leur massacre était un gaspillage. Traiter les chevaux mieux, disaient-ils, les ferait travailler plus et leur donnerait plus de valeur’. Pour assurer la sécurité des bêtes, les

activistes ont employé l'approche de la santé publique, et l'idée qu'une audience convenable, n'auraient voulu pas voir d'animal abattu dans les rues.

Contrairement au mouvement végétarien aux Etats-Unis, l'alimentation sans viande en France au dix-neuvième siècle était dominée par les anarchistes qui ont promu le style de vie végétarienne, végétalienne et l'alimentation crue pour des raisons de santé et des raisons éthiques (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 16; Emile 21). En 1953, l'Association Végétarienne de France (AVF) a été fondée par Jacques Demarquette, une naturaliste. C'était à ce moment que le mouvement végétarien en France a prospéré et « with about fifty vegetarian restaurants in Paris between the world wars, the vegetarian movement was stronger in the early twentieth century than it is now » (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 16) 'avec environ cinquante restaurants végétariens à Paris entre les deux guerres mondiales, le mouvement végétarien était plus fort au début du vingtième siècle qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui'.

Nous pouvons comparer la première et la deuxième vague à celle des Etats-Unis. En France, les militants ont participé aux manifestations avant que leurs homologues américains le fassent, mais leurs efforts se sont concentrés sur la fin de la vivisection plus que sur les animaux domestiques ou d'élevage (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 17). Le mouvement antivivisection est composé des arguments « de divers ordres : scientifiques, philosophiques, moraux » (Lalouette 160). Il est intéressant et important de remarquer que même au début du mouvement pour les droits des animaux, les militants utilisaient des techniques de cadrage comme nous avons vu. Mais ce n'était pas seulement le mouvement antivivisection qui a progressé pendant cette période.

L'antispécisme était aussi un mouvement bien suivi en France et il a fait ses débuts en 1991 grâce au journal *Cahiers Antispécistes Lyonnais* qui a aidé en montrant la voie pour de nouvelles organisations comme le Collectif de Libération de Paris et le Collectif Antispéciste de Paris (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 21). Différente de la deuxième vague du mouvement américain, celle en France s'est focalisée sur la protection des animaux de compagnie (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 21). L'organisation qui illustre le mieux cette différence est celle de Brigitte Bardot, qui existe aujourd'hui et qui défend les animaux familiers, ceux d'élevage et les bêtes sauvages (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 4). Bien que Bardot soit végétarienne, elle ne suit pas une vie végétalienne parce que ("Brigitte Bardot") :

Je ne veux pas passer à l'extrême, on peut très bien bouffer des œufs, du fromage, du lait. On ne tue pas les animaux pour ça", estime Brigitte Bardot. "Je ne mange plus du tout de viande, c'est bien assez. On n'a pas à devenir vegan, sinon on se prive de plein de trucs et ça devient insupportable (2016).

Les organisations végétaliennes ne seraient certainement pas d'accord. Mais, parce que la majorité des associations pour la protection des animaux en France sont pour l'amélioration des conditions de vie des animaux de la ferme et des animaux domestiques, ce n'est pas un grand problème. Pour les organisations qui se focalisent sur la promotion d'un style de vie végétarienne, leur manœuvre centrale est celle d'une approche santé (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 23). Cependant, les organisateurs d'une marche qui s'appelle Veggie Pride, qui se passe annuellement à Paris, déclarent qu'elle fait la promotion des droits des animaux pour des raisons éthiques (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 23; Garric).

Évidemment, la première et la deuxième vague aux États-Unis et en France étaient vastement différentes. Aujourd'hui, être défenseur de l'environnement est tendance en France (Cherry, *Culture and Activism* 30), c'est peut-être une des raisons pour lesquelles « la consommation de bœuf a baissé d'un tiers aux États-Unis depuis 1970, et d'environ 10% en France depuis 15 ans » (Treich 6). Ce changement est sans doute en partie attribuable à des changements au niveau national.

Récemment (septembre 2019), un bouleversement important s'est passé « au 1er novembre, toutes les cantines scolaires françaises devront proposer au moins un repas végétarien par semaine aux élèves » (Graveleau). Faisant partie d'une nouvelle loi d'agriculture, l'Assemblée Nationale a voté pour ces nouveaux repas en octobre 2018 (Bourgeot). Pendant une conférence de presse la Fédération des conseils de parents d'élèves (FCPE), Greenpeace et l'Association végétarienne de France (AVF) « ont répété ce message 'Le temps de restauration à la cantine est aussi un temps d'éducation' » (Graveleau). Ils font référence au fait que « L'empreinte carbone de l'élevage est environ 10 à 100 fois supérieure à celle des aliments végétaux » (« Nous, Scientifiques, Appelons Les Maires à Réduire La Consommation de Viande Dans Les Cantines Publiques »). Ces progrès montrent l'importance de la croissante de l'écologie à grande échelle.

Assurément, la France fait un effort pour se préoccuper de l'effet des habitudes de consommation sur l'environnement. De plus, en avril 2014 le premier livre français de cuisine végétalienne a été publié (Véron 8). La France est en période de grands changements et il semble que plus d'options végétariennes et végétaliennes sont envisagées grâce à la prise de conscience autour de l'environnement.

## *Comprendre comment la culture peut affecter la réponse aux cadres de communication*

Trois aspects spécifiques créent des différences culturelles majeures liées au véganisme et au végétarisme en France et aux États-Unis. Cette section explorera l'élevage des animaux, le souci de l'environnement, et les habitudes de consommation.

### Agriculture

En comprenant comment les cultures et les opinions au sujet de l'agriculture sont différentes aux États-Unis et en France, nous pouvons mieux évaluer quels types de publicités seraient plus réussies avec chaque culture. Pour comprendre cela, nous allons examiner de quelle manière les deux pays gèrent les antibiotiques dans l'élevage animale et les lois sur le traitement des animaux.

### Les Antibiotiques

L'élevage est une énorme industrie aux États-Unis et en France. On donne souvent des antibiotiques aux animaux pour les rendre en meilleure forme. Mais, les antibiotiques provoquent des problèmes écologiques et peuvent causer des problèmes de santé pour les êtres humains qui consomment de la viande à cause de leur accoutumance (Finlay et Marcus 165). Une étude par Finlay et Marcus (2016) a examiné la régulation des antibiotiques dans l'agriculture animale et a trouvé que (146) :

In the United States, a libertarian ethos, aided and abetted by big agriculture, hampers effective regulation. Authoritarianism in Europe promotes active and aggressive regulation. These two thrusts have something in common: both effectively obscure science and scientific debate. Policy on the two sides of the Atlantic reflects a priori assumptions rather than thorough scientific scrutiny.

‘Aux États-Unis, une philosophie libertaire, aidée et encouragée par l’agriculture de masse, entrave une réglementation efficace. L'autoritarisme en Europe favorise une réglementation active et agressive. Ces deux pays ont quelque chose en commun : Tous deux cachent efficacement la science et le débat scientifique. La politique des deux côtés de l'Atlantique reflète plus de suppositions qu’une étude scientifique minutieuse.’

Cela indique que les gouvernements en France et aux États-Unis, ne se préoccupent pas des risques liés aux antibiotiques même s’il y a des études qui montrent que « the production gains derived from antibiotic feeding did not outweigh the cost of the antibiotics » (Finlay et Marcus 165) ‘les gains en production tirés de l'alimentation antibiotique ne l'emportaient pas sur le prix des antibiotiques’. Tant qu'il ne sera pas plus bénéfique d'élever des animaux sans antibiotiques, il n’y aura pas de demandes pour les éliminer.

Dans les deux pays, les antibiotiques font l'objet d'une grande discussion. La conversation montre que les gens sont conscients de ce qu'ils mettent dans leur corps. Cela signifie qu'ils pourraient être plus influencés par une approche liée à la santé.

Les lois sur le traitement (humain) des animaux

Avant d’examiner les différentes lois, il est nécessaire de comprendre l’ampleur de l’abattage des animaux chaque année à des fins de consommation. « Le secteur de l'élevage en France abat environ un milliard d'animaux terrestres (poules, porcs, vaches, agneaux, chevaux etc.) par an, soit trois millions par jour » (Treich 2). Aux États-Unis, en 2018 environ 9.59 milliards d’animaux terrestres ont été tués soit par jour environ 22.9 millions (“2019 U.S. Animal Kill Clock”). Maintenant, nous pouvons examiner comment

ces animaux sont affectés par les lois de chaque pays. Un site, World Animal Protection, donne à chaque pays un classement (A à G, avec A étant la meilleure note et G la pire) pour leurs protections des animaux (lois, reconnaissance de la sensibilité, normes de bien-être, etc) (“Compare | World Animal Protection”). Nous allons examiner la France et les États-Unis par le prisme des éléments suggérés par World Animal Protection :

reconnaître la protection des animaux, structures et systèmes de gouvernance, comprendre les normes de bien-être des animaux, fournir une éducation au sujet de soins et de protection des animaux et finalement, promouvoir la communication et la sensibilisation.

Premièrement, la protection des animaux requiert une reconnaissance officielle de la sensibilité des animaux, un soutien à la Déclaration universelle sur le bien-être animal et des lois contre la souffrance animale. Par ailleurs, cela comprend aussi la protection des animaux utilisés pour l'élevage, la captivité, la compagnie, le travail et les loisirs et enfin de protéger le bien-être des animaux sauvages. Dans toutes ces catégories, la France a reçu des B et des C, à avec l'exception de la protection de bien-être des animaux sauvages et du soutien à la Déclaration universelle sur le bien-être animal, pour lesquelles un D est acquis. De la même façon, les États-Unis ont eu les notes C, D et un E (très mauvais) pour le soutien à la Déclaration universelle sur le bien-être animal.

Évidemment, en général la France est un peu plus visionnaire au sujet de la protection des animaux que les États-Unis, mais il est nécessaire de remarquer comment les deux pays ne soutiennent pas cette déclaration qui est « a proposed formal international acknowledgment of a set of principles giving animal welfare due recognition among governments and the international community » (“Methodology | World Animal



Protection”) ‘une proposition de reconnaissance internationale et officielle d'un ensemble de principes accordant au bien-être animal une reconnaissance méritée entre les gouvernements et la communauté internationale’. Cette déclaration n’est pas acceptée partout, mais il semble que la France ait besoin d’être plus ouverte à son exploration et son intégration au niveau de la culture et du gouvernement.

Deuxièmement, nous allons nous concentrer sur les structures et les systèmes de gouvernance. Dans cette section, nous verrons ce qui est de la seule responsabilité du gouvernement concernant le bien-être des animaux. C'est-à-dire que la protection des animaux est considérée comme une question individuelle que d'autres politiques doivent prendre en compte. On a donné des B à ces deux pays (“Compare | World Animal Protection”).

Troisièmement, vient la section des normes de bien-être des animaux, dans laquelle nous discutons de l’engagement avec l'Organisation mondiale de la santé animale (acronyme écrit OIE), des normes de bien-être animal de l'OIE et les rapports du progrès du gouvernement. La France a reçu un C, A, et D, tandis que les États-Unis ont reçu un C, D, et C. Bien que la France puisse s’améliorer, elle est encore meilleure ici que les États-Unis (“Compare | World Animal Protection”).

Quatrièmement est l’idée de fournir une éducation au sujet des soins et de la protection des animaux. Cela veut dire que « The inclusion of humane education in the national education system is an important way of effecting change by instilling principles of good animal care and protection within society at a young age » (“Methodology | World Animal Protection”) ‘L’inclure l’éducation humaine dans le système éducatif national est un moyen important d'apporter des changements en inculquant des principes

de bons soins et de protection des animaux dans la société à un jeune âge’. C’est vraiment intéressant de noter que la France a reçu un G mais que les États-Unis ont acquis un D (“Compare | World Animal Protection”). Cela ne signifie pas que les États-Unis fassent un bon travail avec l’éducation des droits des animaux pour les jeunes gens, mais c’est captivant de constater que l’éducation est l’une des premières catégories dans laquelle la France n’est pas supérieure.

Finalement, promouvoir la communication et la sensibilisation est mesuré par l’interaction du gouvernement avec les parties intéressées, pertinentes et à buts non lucratifs. Les deux pays ont reçu un B (“Methodology | World Animal Protection”).

World Animal Protection donne à chaque pays une note globale afin de déterminer où chaque pays se situe sur les droits des animaux. La France a obtenu un C et les États-Unis un D (“Compare | World Animal Protection”). Peut-être, qu’avec une plus grande responsabilisation mondiale, les deux notes seraient plus élevées. Treich examine le système complète en disant que « Il n’existe pas à ce jour de système harmonisé de labellisation mondiale ou européenne spécifique sur le bien-être animal, et il n’y a pas de projet d’extension obligatoire de la labellisation au-delà de celle sur les œufs de poules pondeuses » (12). Évidemment, pour les deux pays, il y a encore un long chemin à parcourir avant d’améliorer leurs lois sur le bien-être animal.

Bien qu’aucun des deux pays ne soit un bon endroit respectueux des droits des animaux d’élevage, les lois sur les droits des animaux plus largement exceptées en France semblent suggérer que lorsque d’autres recherches seront menées, les Français seront plus sensibles à ces cadres de communication.

## Souci de l'environnement

En 2020, il y a un mouvement écologiste mondial et nous allons examiner comment il a grandi pendant les dernières années. Ce mouvement peut être vu comme une nouvelle religion, celle de l'écologisme comme cela est expliqué par l'auteur de *L'Archipel français*, Jérôme Fourquet ("L'écologisme, « Une Nouvelle Religion » (Jérôme Fourquet)").

Selon lui, « le discours écologiste suit le mode d'action du catholicisme et a les mêmes effets ». Effectivement, « seul (le) discours religieux était jusqu'ici capable d'avoir un impact sur les comportements quotidiens, notamment sur l'alimentation, avec les catholiques et le maigre du vendredi, les musulmans et le halal, et les juifs et le casher. Le discours écologique l'a rejoint, avec des préceptes alimentaires très précis, même s'il ne s'appuie pas, cependant, sur une foi mais sur des données scientifiques ».

Mais ce mouvement est relativement nouveau sur la scène internationale et dans les deux pays, le mouvement moderne environnemental a commencé dans les années 1960 et 70 (Gordon 1; Massard-Guilbaud). « In the past decade, both countries [France and the United States] have also seen environmentalism move to the forefront of mainstream public and political concern, even beyond the Green political parties that exist in both countries » (Cherry, *Culture and Activism: Animal Rights in France and the United States* 28) 'Au cours de la dernière décennie, les deux pays [la France et les États-Unis] ont également vu l'environnementalisme passer à l'avant-garde des préoccupations publiques et politiques, même au-delà des partis écologiques qui existent dans les deux pays'. Cependant, la France et les États-Unis avait des réactions différentes. En attendant, nous pouvons examiner la culture et les politiques entourant l'écologie dans chaque pays.

Premièrement, un des récents efforts pour lutter contre les changements climatiques mis en place par la Convention-cadre des Nations Unies sur les changements climatiques (CCNUCC) est l'Accord de Paris dont l'objectif « is to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change . . . Additionally, the agreement aims to strengthen the ability of countries to deal with the impacts of climate change » (“The Paris Agreement | UNFCCC”) ‘l'objectif est de renforcer la réponse mondiale à la menace du changement climatique . . . En outre, l'accord vise à renforcer la capacité des pays à faire face aux impacts du changement climatique’. En 2015 le gouvernement français a organisé des réunions internationales pour faciliter les discussions à son sujet (“Paris Agreement”). Bien que les États-Unis l'aient signé en 2016 avec 146 autres pays, en 2017, le président Donald Trump a annoncé le retrait des États-Unis de l'Accord de Paris (“U.S. Exits Paris Climate Agreement”). Typiquement, les gens des partis plus socialistes n'étaient pas satisfaits de cette déclaration, ni de la politique de Trump en général et, en fait, certains scientifiques qui font des recherches sur les effets directs du dioxyde de carbone ont choisi de s'installer en France, où leur travail est accepté par le gouvernement, après l'élection du président (Toomey). Mais ce n'est là qu'un aspect qui montre à quel point les attitudes à l'égard de l'écologie sont différentes aux États-Unis et en France. D'autres différences quotidiennes de style de vie doivent être prises en considération.

Par exemple, l'article (2009), *What Makes Europe Greener than the U.S.?* (‘Qu'est-ce qui rend l'Europe plus écologique que les États-Unis ?’) commence par les statistiques « The average American produces three times the amount of CO2 emissions as a person in France. A U.S. journalist now living in Europe explains how she learned to

love her clothesline and sweating in summer » (Rosenthal) ‘L’américain moyen produit trois fois plus d’émissions CO2 qu’une personne en France. Une journaliste qui habite en Europe explique comment elle a appris à aimer sa corde à linge et de transpirer pendant l’été. L’article discute ensuite comment aux États-Unis, nous sommes gâtés par la grande quantité d’espace pour s’éparpiller et aussi par le fait d’être un jeune pays construit pour les grandes maisons et les voitures. À cause de ces éléments, notre empreinte carbone est énorme et nous ne sommes pas très conscients des autres éléments qui contribuent à la croissance, comme l’utilisation des sacs plastiques. Rosenthal explique que « If nearly everyone is carrying a plastic bag (as in New York City) you don’t feel so bad. But if no one does (as in Dublin) you feel pretty irresponsible » ‘Si presque tout le monde transporte un sac en plastique (comme à New York), vous ne vous sentez pas si mauvais. Mais si personne ne le fait (comme à Dublin) vous vous sentez assez irresponsable’. Ces différences culturelles entraînent une certaine divergence politique par rapport à l’écologie. En comprenant l’acceptation de l’importance de l’environnement et de lutter contre les changements climatiques dans chaque culture, nous pouvons mieux faire l’hypothèse du succès d’un cadre qui promeut le végétalisme pour le bénéfice de l’environnement.

### Les habitudes de consommation

Comme nous avons vu, bien que la France soit plus progressive en termes de lois sur le traitement des animaux et d’efforts pour combattre les changements climatiques, c’est une autre histoire en parlant des habitudes de consommation et la culture alimentaire.

En 2010, la cuisine française a été déclarée un patrimoine immatériel mondial par l'UNESCO (Samuel). Le concept est « to protect cultural practices in the same way as UNESCO protects sites of cultural value or great natural beauty » (Samuel) 'de protéger les pratiques culturelles de la même façon que l'UNESCO protège les sites à valeur culturelle ou de grande beauté naturelle'. Ceci implique que la France compte garder ses traditions culinaires qui utilisent beaucoup de lait et du beurre au lieu de favoriser celles qui proposent des alternatives végétaliennes.

Il y a aussi des différences entre l'alimentation en France et aux États-Unis. Il existe une variation dans les tailles des portions ; les Français ne mangent pas rapidement, mais consomment leur nourriture pour le plaisir avec des plus petites portions (Kerns). Pour les Français, la nourriture devrait être de qualité plutôt que de quantité mais pour les Américains la valeur est mise sur la quantité (Kerns; Rozin et al. 1). En 2010, environ 17 pourcents des adultes français étaient obèses, mais aux États-Unis le nombre était doublé à 34% (Powell et al.). De plus, une étude en 2015 a trouvé que les adultes et les enfants français mangent plus de légumes et de fruits que leurs homologues aux États-Unis (Kerns). De même, environ 50% de français adhèrent aux recommandations diététiques et d'exercice, alors qu'une minorité d'Américains suivent ces directives (Powell et al.). En outre, les Français consomment moins de produits alimentaires transformés (Kerns).

Cette information est importante pour l'étude du sujet du végétarisme et végétalisme parce qu'elle indique que les Français sont plus conscients de leurs habitudes de consommation et des effets sur la santé et le bien-être. En comprenant cette idée, nous

pouvons faire la supposition que les Français seront plus influencés par le cadre de la santé que les Américains ne le seront.

### *Conclusion*

La France et les États-Unis sont évidemment vastement différents dans leurs approches et leurs opinions à propos des droits des animaux. Bien que la France soit probablement plus progressive, le lait, le fromage, et la viande sont inscrits dans sa culture. D'autre part aux États-Unis, le pays est plus jeune et manque d'histoire qui contribue à la culture de la nourriture. En outre, ces éléments (la réponse aux approches communicatives de santé, d'éthique, et d'environnement) contribuent aux différences qui influent sur la façon dont les cadres de communication sont perçus. Tournée vers l'avenir cette recherche peut être utile pour promouvoir un style de vie plus moral, durable, et sain.

### **CHAPTER III: METHOD**

Framing is a cross cultural tactic that can be seen in media campaigns worldwide. Animal rights organizations place great emphasis on their framing strategies and as we have seen in previous chapters, the three main frames they are the 1) meat is murder/injustice frame, 2) environment and food systems frame, and 3) personal health frame. The best way to measure responses to these frames is in a quantitative manner, because this allows the data to be more generalizable. Therefore, a quantitative, two by three, quasi-experiment in the form of an online survey was sent via email, Facebook group, and personal message over social media platforms to French people and Americans. This chapter describes and examines the benefits of this particular method, gives an overview of the participants, and provides a description of the instrument used to complete this quasi-experiment.

#### **Justification of Method**

The use of an electronic quasi-experiment is logical because it allows the data to be generalized. The electronic method allows me to collect data from a large sample size because it reaches a wide range instantly when shared on the internet. Additionally, I am able to distribute the experiment to a wide variety of people across both France and the United States.

By creating and distributing an electronic quasi-experiment, respondents have an easier time participating in the study. They are able to take the survey anywhere and at any time (Wrench et al. 230). Additionally, there is no need to worry about scheduling or other issues that come with paper and pencil surveys. There is also a decreased risk of interparticipant bias which makes the results more reliable.



With the help of random assignment to each kind of frame, I am able to explore causal mechanisms behind the emotional and behavioral response to the frame. Random assignment keeps each group initially equivalent regarding uncontrolled and unmeasured characteristics, so we can then infer any causal relationships between the frame and outcome variables.

Finally, the analysis of the experiment results will be more easily completed with an online data collection method rather than with a paper and pencil one because data is directly downloaded into SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Science). This allows for immediate analysis and limited risk of human error when inputting the data.

### **Participants**

Participants of this survey included those who identified with American and French culture. The same survey was provided to respondents with the option to complete it in French or in English. The survey had a total of 561 participants. Of these, 284 completed the English version while 277 completed the French option. Because of incomplete responses, lack of French or American identity, or indication that they were under 18 years of age, 155 from the English version and 149 responses from the French version were discarded. This resulted in a total number of 257 participants combined for both French and American.

The participants ranged in diet type, community type, social class and age (see Table 1).

Table 1

*Demographic Frequency by Country*

	Totals <i>n</i> (%)	France <i>n</i> (%)	United States <i>n</i> (%)
Diet			
Vegetarian	42 (16.2)	20 (14.5)	22 (18.2)
Vegan	45 (17.4)	29 (21.0)	16 (13.2)
Other	172 (66.4)	89 (64.5)	83 (68.6)
Community Type			
City or Urban	119 (45.9)	80 (58.0)	39 (32.2)
Suburban	74 (28.6)	17 (12.3)	57 (47.1)
Rural Community	58 (22.4)	34 (24.6)	24 (19.8)
Other	8 (3.1)	7 (5.1)	1 (0.8)
Social Class			
Lower Class	14 (5.4)	8 (5.8)	6 (5.0)
Working Class	57 (22.0)	28 (20.3)	29 (24.0)
Middle Class	176 (68.0)	96 (69.6)	80 (66.1)
Upper Class	12 (4.6)	6 (4.3)	6 (5.0)
Age			
18-24	120 (46.3)	36 (26.1)	84 (69.4)
25-34	55 (21.2)	35 (25.4)	20 (16.5)
35-44	45 (17.4)	36 (26.1)	9 (7.4)
45-54	27 (10.4)	22 (15.9)	5 (4.1)
55-64	11 (4.2)	8 (5.8)	3 (2.5)
65-74	1 (0.4)	1 (0.7)	0 (0.0)

**Instrument**

A 56 item (including the consent) quasi-experiment (see Appendix B and C) covering demographics, current dietary habits, cultural and economic political standing, and emotional and behavioral responses to frames was employed to collect data. Demographic questions included age, gender, sexual orientation, social class, cultural identification, etc. Participants were given the option participating in either the English or French version of the experiment, both of which had the same questions.

Primarily, this survey was split into five sections. The first section included categorical questions about the respondent's current and past dietary habits. For example,

one question asked participants to mark themselves as either vegan, vegetarian, or other. Participants were also asked two Likert-type (1-7 scale, strongly agree to strongly disagree) questions about how the people around them viewed vegan and vegetarian lifestyles.

The second section evaluated the respondent's economic and cultural political leanings through Likert-type (1-7 scale, strongly disagree to strongly agree) questions. These questions asked participants to rate their agreement to a statement that was related to either cultural or economic liberalism. There were 11 questions asked in order to create a cultural liberalism scale (Q6.1 through Q6.11; Appendix B and C). Participants responded to questions like "Access to free healthcare is a right" and "Anything but heterosexual marriage should be forbidden" which help determine the respondent's cultural liberalism. There were 8 questions (Q7.1 through Q7.9; Appendix B and C) asked in order to create an economic liberalism scale. For example, "Unions were indispensable in establishing the middle class" and "Marijuana should be legal" determine the participant's economic liberalism on a scale. Questions Q6.1 - Q6.3, Q6.5 - Q6.11, Q7.1 - Q7.8 (Appendix B and C) were sourced from the Political Spectrum Quiz (Go To Quiz) while Q7.9 (Appendix B and C) was sourced from l'Échiquier Politique ("L'Échiquier Politique" 12). The remaining questions in this section were developed by me.

The third section contained the images that participants saw. Images were equally distributed among participants, so that although participants only saw one frame comprised of two images, there was an equal distribution of frame viewing. Information on the frames can be found in Chapter 2, but these specific images were chosen because

they were specifically related to either the health, ethical, or environmental frame. These frames were found through Google image searches with keywords such as “vegan billboards” and “peta ads”. Participants did not answer questions in this section, they simply viewed two images before moving on to the next section.

The fourth section evaluated the respondent’s emotional response and behavioral response to the specific frame (health, ethical, or environmental) that they were shown at random. These responses were evaluated through Likert-type (1-7 scale, strongly disagree to strongly agree) questions. These questions asked respondents to rate their agreement to statements that related to behaviors and emotions. Ten questions (Q20.1 through Q20.10; Appendix B and C), all personally developed, were asked in order to develop a behavioral response scale. Participants responded to questions such as “I want to consume less meat” and “I am motivated to learn more about a balanced diet”. In order to create an emotional response scale nine questions were asked (Q21.1 through Q21.9; Appendix B and C), all created by me. Questions included statements such as “I am surprised by what these images suggest about my consumption habits” and “I am angry that these images suggest that my consumption habits could have such an effect”.

The fifth section asked standard demographic information such as age, gender, sexual orientation, marital status, etc. This section included twelve categorical questions (Q22 through Q33; Appendix B and C). Additionally, this section asked participants which culture they best identified with and which country they had spent the majority of their life in which held determine if they fell into the French or American category for the purpose of analysis.

## **Procedures**

First, I submitted my surveys/consent forms (Appendix B, Appendix C) and promotional materials (Appendix F), French and English versions of all, to the Human Subjects Research Committee (HSRC). Once I received approval, I contacted participants through email, Facebook groups found through keyword searches such as “vegan,” “sustainability,” “végétalien,” “végétarien,” and personal messages. I added direct links and a description of the survey to these promotional messages and allowed participants to choose which language they took the survey in. Those who chose to participate in the survey agreed to the terms and went onto the next page. Those who did not meet the requirements or did not agree to the terms were brought to the end of the survey. Additionally, respondents were free to stop taking the survey at any time.

First, respondents answered questions about their current dietary habits, followed by questions about their cultural and economic liberalism. Participants were randomly assigned in equal distribution to a frame (health, environmental, or ethical) and following the viewing of these images they answered questions that determined their emotional and behavioral response as affected by their frame. At the end of the survey, participants answered demographic questions.

## **CHAPTER IV: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The purpose of my study is to investigate the relationship between culture and behavioral and emotional response to the three major frames (health, environmental, and ethical) used by animal rights organizations. In order to control for political views, cultural conservatism and economic conservatism were also measured. The following analyses are based on responses from the 257 French and American participants who completed the electronic survey described in Chapter III. The analyses below will cover topics such as the relationship between culture and frame in effecting a behavioral response and an emotional response, along with other analyses.

### **Reliability Analyses**

My survey primarily measured four factors and reliabilities which were run in order evaluate which questions could be combined to create a scale for each of these factors. Cultural Conservatism was a measure of the respondent's political standing as related to cultural issues such as gay marriage and abortion. The Economic Conservatism scale measured the respondent's political standing as related to economic issues such as the necessity of war and laws on minimum wage. For both scales, the high score of 7 indicated someone with very conservative views, while the lowest score of 1 indicated a person with very liberal views.

The two remaining scales measured emotional response and behavioral response to the frame. Emotional response used questions that involved, for example, the level of surprise or disgust, in order to determine how much emotion was induced because of the frame. A high score of 7 indicated a very strong emotional response to the frame, while a low score of 1 indicated a low emotional response. The behavioral response measured the

likelihood that the respondent would take action to promote vegetarianism/veganism and animal rights after seeing the frame. This measure included questions about motivation to learn about the animal agriculture industry or the desire to consume less meat in order to measure behavioral response. A high score of 7 indicated a high level of desire to act whereas a low score of 1 indicated a weak behavioral response and minimal desire to change actions. Table 2 shows each of the survey items that were used for reliability analyses as well as the Chronbach's alphas, mean scores, and standard deviations.

Table 2

*Reliabilities*

Factors	Items	<i>Alpha</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Cultural Conservatism	6.1, 6.3, 6.5, 6.6, 6.8, 6.10, 6.11	0.816	2.66	1.14
Economic Conservatism	7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8, 7.9	0.805	2.75	0.93
Emotional Response	21.1, 21.2, 21.3, 21.4, 21.5, 21.6, 21.7, 21.8	0.785	3.93	1.08
Behavioral Response	20.1, 20.2, 20.3, 20.4, 20.5, 20.6, 20.7, 20.8, 20.9, 20.10	0.922	5.09	1.24

**Manipulation Check to Determine Cultural Grouping**

Because two questions, Q29 and Q30 (included in Appendix B) were used to determine the respondent's culture, a manipulation check was done to determine if cultural identity was truly measuring the French and American experience. A chi-squared was conducted and it showed a significant relationship ( $p = 0.001$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $\chi^2 = 249.346$ ) meaning that those who responded that they best identified with French culture, generally responded that they had also spent most of their life in France, and the same applies to the United States. Because the results showed that either question could be used for cultural group, Q29 was used throughout this analysis.

## Covariates

Table 3

### *Dependent Variable Descriptives*

	<i>n</i>	Economic Conservatism <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>	Cultural Conservatism <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>	Behavioral Response <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>	Emotional Response <i>M (SD)</i>
French								
	49	2.79 (0.78)	50	2.92 (0.94)	50	5.33	49	4.39
Environment	45	2.82 (0.89)	44	3.05 (1.01)	44	(1.07)	44	(0.96)
	42	2.88 (0.83)	42	3.08 (0.98)	43	5.12	43	4.66
Ethical						(1.35)		(1.03)
Health						5.14		4.03
						(1.07)		(0.78)
Total	13	2.83 (0.82)	136	3.01 (0.97)	137	5.23	13	4.37
	6					(1.16)	6	(0.96)
American								
	44	2.52 (0.94)	44	2.18 (1.11)	44	5.12	43	3.61
Environment	35	2.46 (0.91)	36	2.06 (1.01)	36	(1.28)	36	(1.04)
	41	2.95 (1.16)	41	2.46 (1.36)	41	4.88	41	3.49
Ethical						(1.39)		(1.07)
Health						4.34		3.24
						(1.23)		(0.87)
Total	12	2.65 (1.03)	121	2.24 (1.17)	121	4.95	12	3.45
	0					(1.30)	0	(1.00)
Total								
	93	2.66 (0.86)	94	2.57 (1.08)	94	5.23	92	4.03
Environment	80	2.66 (0.91)	80	2.60 (1.12)	79	(1.18)	80	(1.07)
	83	2.91 (1.00)	83	2.77 (1.21)	83	5.05	84	4.14
Ethical						(1.37)		(1.20)
Health						4.99		3.65
						(1.16)		(0.91)
Total	25	2.74 (0.93)	257	2.65 (1.14)	256	5.10	25	3.94
	6					(1.23)	6	(1.08)

Note: 1 = Very Liberal, 7 = Very Conservative

1 = Weak Behavioral Response, 7 = Strong Behavioral Response

1 = Weak Emotional Response, 7 = Strong Emotional Response



Two ANCOVAS were run to determine if the covariate of conservatism influenced the emotional or behavioral response to the frame. Two types of conservatism were tested as covariates: economic conservatism and cultural conservatism. See Table 3 for descriptives by frame and country.

#### *Economic Conservatism*

In general, the sample proved to lean strongly liberal, with an average mean of 2.74 (0.93). The French and American groups in this sample were virtually identical in their average economic conservatism with the French population scoring an average of 2.83 (0.82) whereas Americans averaged 2.65 (1.03).

When run as a covariate in a two-way ANCOVA, economic conservatism was not significant in influencing either of the dependent variables (behavioral or emotional responses). It was determined that economic conservatism should not be used as a covariate because the two cultural groups were not significantly different within the sample ( $p = 0.122$ ) as suggested by the  $F$  value (2.410).

It is likely that economic conservatism was the same among both cultural groups due to a skewed sample population that leaned liberal. According to the Pew Research Sample, Americans should have generally been more economically conservative than their European counterparts (NW et al.). Because this research disconfirms my survey results, we can conclude that the sample population is not generalizable beyond a heavily liberal portion of the American and French populations.

Interestingly, my data analysis showed that economic conservatism had no effect on emotional or behavioral response. However, research on levels of empathy in explaining economic policy view differences in the United States proves the contrary,

stating that “empathic individuals are more supportive of an interventionist government to rectify what they perceive to be negative market outcomes” (Kamas and Preston 76). In applying this to frame response, this research by Kamas indicates that those who hold more economically conservative views towards government intervention (little government intervention where the market is involved) should have a weaker emotional response to the frames.

Henceforth, should the sample have been more evenly distributed in political views, we likely would have needed to use economic conservatism as a covariate and would have seen a significant difference in frame response.

#### *Cultural Conservatism*

Similarly to economic conservatism, the sample leaned heavily liberal when asked about their cultural conservatism (via a scale created with individual questions). Overall, the sampled population averaged 2.65 (1.14) for their cultural liberalism, with French respondents averaging 3.01 (0.97) and Americans averaging 2.24 (1.17). When a two-way ANCOVA was run, the  $F$  value (33.402) suggested a significant difference ( $p = 0.001$ ) between French and American respondents on cultural conservatism. For this reason, it was necessary to include cultural conservatism as a covariate in future ANCOVAS. As seen later, cultural conservatism did have an influence on frame response.

We can look to research on specific cultural conservatism scale questions to understand why there is a significant difference between the levels of cultural conservatism in France and the United States. Research suggests, that France should theoretically be more liberal than the United States (NW et al.). This implies that the

American sample was even further skewed liberal than the French sample. This unequal distribution of political views will be discussed further in Chapter V.

We can see that France is typically more culturally liberal than the United States by analyzing more deeply two of the questions used to create the cultural liberalism scale. For example, one question states that “access to free healthcare is a right” and respondents were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement with the statement. One possible explanation for this difference could be the differences in the health care systems of France and the United States. According to Furedi, “people's perception of health and illness is shaped by the particular account that their culture offers about how they are expected to cope with life and about the nature of human potential” (17). While culture is quite a general statement, it can be understood as “the social organization of the welfare state (including the healthcare system) [that] provides the overarching national culture that citizens have come to expect” (Beckfield et al. 137). Because the welfare states in France and the United States are different, France being the place where the “autonomy of patients and equal access are greatly valued and matter more than the autonomy of the medical profession” (Beckfield et al. 131), we can understand why ratings on the cultural conservatism scale for countries is significantly different.

Furthermore, there is an astonishing cultural difference among patriotism opinions between the United States and France, which is also a question included on the cultural conservatism scale. In the United States, it is not uncommon to drive a mile down a suburban road and find several American flags flying proudly. However, in Europe, this display of what would be considered patriotism in the United States, is “regarded with suspicion and is still often associated primarily with the extreme right” (Wilson). Of

course, that is not to say that European countries are unpatriotic, but perhaps because of negative associations that link patriotism and nationalism to Germany's recent occupation (Wagner et al. 319), France finds itself less inclined to express national pride.

It is safe to hypothesize that because France has a longer and more complex history than the United States, and because it has developed an open relationship with the European Union, the levels of cultural conservatism will be significantly different in the two countries. This shows why it is necessary to use cultural conservatism as a covariate in order to account for these potential differences.

### *Behavioral Response*

Behavioral response was measured after respondents were exposed to one of the three frames. A high behavioral response (score of 7 was the highest possible) indicated that participants were likely to take action by decreasing meat consumption, learning more about the meat and dairy industry, etc. ; whereas a low behavioral response (score of 1 was the possible weakest score) indicated that participants were unlikely to change their current habits. See Table 3 for mean results.

After controlling for cultural conservatism and running an ANCOVA, the results showed that cultural conservatism  $F(1, 249) = 30.94, p < 0.001$  and culture  $F(1, 249) = 13.77, p < 0.001$ , have significant impacts on behavioral response. We can know by looking at the descriptives (Table 3) that French respondents were significantly more likely to act, indicated by a larger average behavioral response, than Americans. As we will see in the next section, this is an expected outcome because the French population also had a higher level of emotional response and previous research indicates that emotion is linked to actionable behaviors (Achar et al. 168; Gaur et al. 917–18;

Huffman et al. 36; Zhu and Thagard 34). Because action is so inherently derived from and connected with emotion, we will further examine this in the following section.

After controlling for cultural conservatism, the French reported a higher level of behavioral response with the French reporting an adjusted mean of 5.37 (SE = 0.104) and Americans reporting an adjusted mean of 4.79 (SE = 0.11). This could be because there was a larger number of vegetarians and vegans within the French sample (see Table 4) which could lead to a higher behavioral response because they already felt motivated to take action against animal exploitation, environmental degradation, and/or for their own health, as proven by their current diet. This finding demonstrates that not only is the sample politically skewed, it is also not representative of the actual numbers of vegetarians, vegans, and omnivores in either the United States or in France. More on this specific demographic information can be found in Chapter II.

Table 4

*Descriptives of Current Diets by Country*

	Frequency	Percent
French		
Vegetarian	20	14.5
Vegan	29	21.0
Other	89	64.5
American		
Vegetarian	22	18.2
Vegan	16	13.2
Other	83	68.6

The frame did not impact behavioral response at  $F(2, 249) = 0.639, p = 0.528$  so no post hoc test was run. This is a rather unexpected result, but it likely has to do with survey construction. In both the French and American samples nearly half if not more of

the sample was already vegetarian or vegan (see Table 4). This could have skewed results because those who were already following a more restrictive diet would have less of a reason to be motivated to change their actions (their behavioral response) due to the frame.

The interaction effect was not significant at  $F(2, 249) = 0.19, p = .827$  therefore showing that there was no interaction between culture and frame. This finding is likely derived from the fact that the sample for this study was very limited in its representation of the general French and American populations. There is no indication in previous literature that there should be an interaction effect, so another possible explanation is that one does not simply exist. Additionally, as we will see in the following section, the specificity of the frames has the potential to be successful but only when used with a specifically corresponding demographic.

The behavioral response, while useful information to have, is so directly linked with emotional response, that further research should focus on understanding of how to evoke certain emotions through pro vegan and vegetarian campaigns before measuring the success through behavioral response measurements.

### *Emotional Response*

In addition to behavioral response, emotional response was also measured after participants were exposed to one of three frames. A high emotional response was indicated by a high score of 7, meaning that the participant had a strong emotional response to the frame. A weak emotional response was indicated with a low score of 1, meaning that the frame had little to no effect on the respondent's emotional state. See Table 3 for the specific results.

Research shows that emotion and behavior are undeniably linked (Deci 221; Shpancer; Stangor) and that marketers, which are animal rights organizations for the purpose of this study, attempt to induce the emotions of viewers in order to create actionable responses such as decreasing meat consumption (Achar et al. 168).

The results indicated that there was a significant difference between the emotional response of French and American participants at  $F(1, 250) = 57.58, p < 0.001$ . By looking at the descriptives in Table 3 we can also know that the French were more emotionally influenced by the frames than Americans with a mean emotional response score of 4.37 (0.96) whereas the Americans' mean score was significantly lower at 3.45 (1.00). One might hypothesize that this is due in part to a large difference in population density among the two countries. As of 2019, the population density in France was 118/km<sup>2</sup> whereas the United States was 35/km<sup>2</sup> (*Countries By Density 2019*). Previous research has demonstrated that countries with a higher population density “exhibit behaviors corresponding to a slower life history strategy, including greater future-orientation, greater investment in education, more long-term mating orientation, later marriage age, lower fertility, and greater parental investment” (Sng et al. 736). It stands to reason that the French respondents in this survey had higher emotional responses, partially because as they come from a country with a higher population density where they are already more conscious of their individual effect on the world.

Another potential explanation for the difference in emotional response between the two cultures is the exposure to violence. One study found that “exposure to violence at high levels or across multiple contexts has been linked with emotional desensitization, indicated by low levels of internalizing symptoms” (Mrug et al. 75). Along these lines,

another study found that within North America 56 percent of children aged 2 through 17 years old experienced violence within the past year, while in Europe only 12 percent did (Hillis et al. 6). In applying these numbers to my research, the heightened childhood violence experienced by those in North America could contribute to a desensitization which explains the lower emotional response of Americans when compared to French respondents. This is also in line with the research done in the French analysis section (Chapter II), in which we found that World Animal Protection rated France more highly than the United States for protections for farm, domestic, and research animals. This relates to violence against children because research has shown that violence against other humans is often foreshadowed by violence towards animals (Lockwood and Hodge 1). Thus, when a country is stricter on their animal rights laws, they are more likely to prevent future violence against humans and animals.

Additionally, the results indicated that there was a significant difference in which frame caused more of an emotional reaction  $F(2, 250) = 5.03, p < 0.007$ . Because of this information, a post hoc comparison was conducted with Tukey's B. It suggested that the emotional response in the health frame, 3.65 (0.91), is significantly different from the environment frame, 4.03 (1.07), and ethics frame, 4.14 (1.20). However emotional response within the environment frame and ethical frame did not differ significantly. The success of the ethical frame was likely due to how the victims were portrayed. As one study found, seeing the victims' sad faces (versus happy), caused the respondent to feel more sympathetic, evoking a higher level of emotional response (Achar et al. 168). Both visuals associated with the ethical frame did show victims, whereas no victims were visually portrayed in the environment frame and only one image in the health frame



showed a victim. Research does show the usefulness of visuals in triggering responses and so perhaps this accounts for the success of the ethical and environmental frames over the health frame (Hartmann and Apaolaza-Ibañez; Perrin; Swim and Bloodhart).

In understanding why the health frame was less successful, we can see that the advertisements presented as the health frame in this study were narrow. One frame promoted vegetarianism as a method of weight loss, while the other uses the viewer's theoretical child as a reason to stop eating meat. Both ads try to guilt the viewer into a vegetarian diet through the assumption that the viewer can relate, either to wanting the best for a child or wanting to lose weight. However, if the viewing population cannot relate to either of these, research shows that "guilt arousal enhances campaign effects for those with a high concern but is the wrong strategy to reach those with a low concern" (Wonneberger 181). We can thus conclude that in part, the frame effectiveness in evoking an emotional response is closely linked to the identity of the viewer. So while specifically targeted campaigns could be very successful, this study finds that the placement of these ads (per online marketing or physical ad placement) such that a certain population will see them is necessary to conduct further research on.

In addition to the lack of connection that emerges from seeing a victim's face, the health frame could also be less successful than the environmental and ethical frames because of the personal aspect. Ethicality and the environment push towards a greater, world-wide cause, while health is much more personal. The definition of health is also very fuzzy. What some consider a healthy choice is not the same to others. Is being overweight unhealthy, or is it a socially built stigma? These are questions that are best left for a different study.

Finally, the interaction effect between the frame and the country was not significant  $F(2, 250) = 1.13, p = 0.330$ . This is an expected result for a variety of reasons. First is the lack of generalizability in the sample. As I have discussed above, the frames have the potential to be successful in evoking the desired behavioral and emotional responses, but since the sample for this study was limited in political views and consisted of a large portion of people who were already vegan or vegetarian, we were unlikely to see significant results for the interaction effect. However, had a more generalizable sample size been measured, previous research indicates that there would have been a significant difference in the emotional responses of French and American participants. For example, one study examined consumer reactions to nostalgic advertisements and found that there were significant differences in the reactions of French and American respondents (Merchant et al. 706). Essentially, nostalgia inducing ads were more effective among French respondents than they were among Americans (Merchant et al. 706). Although none of the advertisements used in this study were intended to elicit nostalgic reactions, this research does show that cultural differences must be taken into account when creating advertisements, and had the sample been generalizable to the general population, we likely would have seen significant differences within the interaction effect. However, because this research on nostalgia does not directly apply to the use of animal rights frames, another simple explanation could be that there is no interaction effect as no literature explicitly finds these results.

Additionally, previous research surveyed French and American participants and found that French were significantly less likely to diet than Americans (Rozin et al. 4). This reinforces the idea that had the sample been more generalizable to both countries,

results likely would have shown the health frame to be significantly less impactful within the French culture as they are less concerned with dieting, and one of the health ads used in the frame targeted specifically that.

### *Conclusion*

Although a culturally and economically liberal sample was used for this study, the results still indicate significant findings. Previous research has shown that behavioral and emotional reactions are linked, and the results of this study are in line with these findings. The French population indicated both higher levels of emotional response and behavioral response to the frames, although neither Americans or the French were significantly affected by the health frame. That being said, the evoked reaction will vary based on the population to which, the ad is presented. Looking forward, animal rights organizations should be conscious of the demographics that will see or experience their publicity stunts and visuals and adjust the type of advertisement accordingly.

### **Correlations Within Cultures**

Three correlations were conducted with all four dependent variables (cultural conservatism, economic conservatism, behavioral response, and emotional response) in order to see if there were any trends among the variables. This section will first examine the correlations between the dependent variables with combined American and French populations, before separating the responses of the participants by country and looking at the differences in correlations.

Table 5

*Correlations Between Dependent Variables of Both French and American Populations*

	Cultural Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Economic Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Behavioral Response <i>r (df), p</i>	Emotional Response <i>r (df), p</i>
Cultural Conservatism		0.729 (252), 0.001	-0.274 (254), 0.001	0.068 (252), 0.281
Economic Conservatism			-0.258 (253), 0.001	-0.026 (251), 0.677
Behavioral Response				0.566 (254), 0.001

*Correlations Among Combined Populations*

The first correlation run (Table 4) shows the outputs for the combined French and American populations. There is a significant positive correlation between economic conservatism and cultural conservatism, which implies that the more culturally conservative one is, the more economically conservative they are likely to be as well. This is a logical and expected result.

Next, we see that there is a significant negative correlation between cultural and economic conservatism and behavioral response. This means that the more culturally and economically conservative one is, the less likely one is to have a strong behavioral response. This is expected and is in line with previous research that shows that in both French and American populations, those who are already within the vegetarian and vegan movements are, for the most part, liberal (Hodson and Earle 75; Martinelli and Berkmanienė 514). Therefore, it stands to reason that those who are likely more effected by the frames will align with preexisting organizational demographic information.

The relationship between cultural conservatism/economic conservatism and emotional response was not significant. This is an unexpected result, as previous research

has shown that higher levels of empathy are associated with a more liberal political standing (Kamas and Preston 75). As we have already established, the sample for this study leans heavily liberal which could explain these results. It is likely that if the political distribution had been more even, the results would have aligned with previous academic research.

Finally, we see that there is a significant positive correlation between emotional response and behavioral response. This is an expected result as previous research has shown that “emotions contribute significantly to the processes of action generation as well as action execution and control” (Zhu and Thagard 34). This result means that the higher the level of emotion experienced (7 was the highest score and 1 the lowest), the higher the anticipated level of actionable behavior.

Table 6

*Correlations Between Dependent Variables of French Population*

	Cultural Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Economic Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Behavioral Response <i>r (df), p</i>	Emotional Response <i>r (df), p</i>
Cultural Conservatism		0.667 (132), 0.001	-0.464 (133), 0.001	-0.089 (132), 0.309
Economic Conservatism			-0.313 (132), 0.001	0.001 (132), 0.997
Behavioral Response				0.510 (134), 0.001

*Differences in Correlations Between French and American Populations*

Table 5 shows the correlations of the dependent variables among the French population. We find that the same significance and correlation patterns emerge as can be seen among both groups (Table 4). Similarly, the pattern continues within the American

population (Table 6), all of which is to be expected. However, we can look at the differences in levels of significant correlations among the French and American populations to see some interesting results.

First, in examining the correlation between cultural conservatism and economic conservatism we can see that the correlation levels are higher in the American population (0.803) than in the French population (0.667). While both populations have significant correlations between the two types of conservatism, the French population does have a slightly weaker correlation. This is likely due to a skewed sample as both political standing and diet were not representative of the general French and American populations.

Table 7

*Correlations Between Dependent Variables of American Population*

	Cultural Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Economic Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Behavioral Response <i>r (df), p</i>	Emotional Response <i>r (df), p</i>
Cultural Conservatism		0.803 (118), 0.001	-0.227 (119), 0.012	-0.101 (118), 0.272
Economic Conservatism			-0.240 (118), 0.008	-0.154 (117), 0.095
Behavioral Response				0.637 (118), 0.001

**Correlations by Frame**

Three correlations (Table 7, Table 8, and Table 9) were run to determine if there were any significant relationships between the dependent variables within each frame type (environmental, ethical, or health). The tests used combined data from French and American respondents. This section will first examine correlations present in all frames

before moving on to examine those within the environmental frame and then the ethical and health frames.

All correlation tables showed a significant relationship between cultural conservatism and economic conservatism (Table 7, Table 8, Table 9), meaning that the more culturally conservative one was, the more economically conservative they were (and vice versa), regardless of frame. This is logical because political views were determined before the frame was presented, so any other finding would be inconsistent with previous research that shows that “within mass publics, the organization of cultural and economic attitudes along the right–left dimension seems to be the exception rather than the rule” (Malka et al. 1065). Moving forward, we can look at the correlations of the depending variables within the frames.

Correlations between behavioral and emotional responses were also found in all correlation tables (Table 7, Table 8, Table 9). As discussed above, research does show that behavior and emotion are linked (Deci 221; Shpancer; Stangor) and marketers frequently attempt to manipulate the emotions of a viewer in order to induce a reaction (Achar et al. 168). However, the question remains as to which, behavior or emotion, influences the other. Even the research is inconclusive. Some argue that moods influence our actions and outlooks on life (Stangor) while others believe that action creates change in emotion (Shpancer). This study can draw no conclusions to this question and further research is needed on the subject.

#### *Correlations Within the Environmental Frame*

Within the environment frame (Table 7), interesting correlations are revealed. In this section, we will first examine the relationship between cultural/economic

conservatism and behavioral response, followed by an exploration of the significant correlations with behavioral response, and the lack thereof with emotional response.

First, by looking at the relationship between cultural/economic conservatism and behavioral response, findings showed that the higher the levels of cultural or economic conservatism, the lower the behavioral response was likely to be. This finding is congruent with previous research that shows that within the United States, the environmental movement has a liberal and democratic cast to it, implying that those who hold more liberal views are likely to be more supportive of pro environmental initiatives than those who lean more conservatively (Dunlap et al. 45).

Even though emotional response and behavioral response are very strongly correlated, it is interesting to see that behavioral response and cultural/economic conservatism are significant and negatively correlated, while there is not a significant correlation between the conservatism and emotional response. This means that the more conservative (either culturally or economically) a respondent was, the less likely they were to have a strong behavioral response.

Interestingly, there was no significant relationship between conservatism and emotional response. This could be due to the fact that liberals want to feel and do experience more empathy than conservatives (Hasson et al. 1449) but it is unusual to find that there are significant correlations within behavior response and not emotional response since the two are linked. Unfortunately, because the sample of this survey was skewed heavily liberal, this could also explain the lack of correlation between emotional response and conservatism.



The results from Table 7 show that the environmental frame has the potential to be successful in evoking a behavioral response when presented to a liberal population.

Table 8

*Correlations Between Dependent Variables within the Environmental Frame*

	Cultural Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Economic Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Behavioral Response <i>r (df), p</i>	Emotional Response <i>r (df), p</i>
Cultural Conservatism		0.772 (93), 0.001	-0.254 (92), 0.014	0.061 (90), 0.565
Economic Conservatism			-0.255 (91), 0.014	0.032 (89), 0.763
Behavioral Response				0.584 (90), 0.001

*Correlations Within the Ethical Frame*

Within the ethical frame (Table 8) we find generally similar correlations to those within the environmental frame. The significant relationship between economic and cultural conservatism remains the same, as does the correlation between emotional and behavioral responses. Additionally, there are negative correlations between behavioral response and conservatism, however only the correlation between behavioral response and cultural conservatism is significant whereas behavioral and economic is not. This is an unexpected result because economic conservatism and cultural conservatism are not only significantly correlated, but they have a very strong correlation at  $r = 0.710$ . This is most likely due to the fact that the sample is skewed.

As we have already seen, economic conservatism had no effect in influencing either emotional or behavioral response, and thus was not included as a covariate in

previous ANCOVAS. It stands to reason that had the sample been more representative of the general French and American populations, the results would likely have indicated a significant relationship between behavioral response, if for no other reason than a strong correlation between economic and behavioral conservatism. The results from Table 8, as they stand with this sample, demonstrate that the ethical frame has the potential to be successful in creating a greater behavioral response among liberals.

Table 9

*Correlations Between Dependent Variables within the Ethical Frame*

	Cultural Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Economic Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Behavioral Response <i>r (df), p</i>	Emotional Response <i>r (df), p</i>
Cultural Conservatism		0.710 (77), 0.001	-0.324 (77), 0.04	0.140 (77), 0.220
Economic Conservatism			-0.214 (77), 0.058	0.093 (77), 0.413
Behavioral Response				0.689 (78), 0.001

*Correlations Within the Health Frame*

The correlations found within the health frame (Table 9) are similar to those found within the environmental frame (Table 7). We see a strong positive correlation for the relationship between economic conservatism and cultural conservatism as well as between behavioral and emotional response, both which are explained above.

Additionally, there are negative and significant correlations between behavioral response, and cultural/economic conservatism. This implies that the more conservative a respondent is, the less likely they are to make changes in their lifestyle regarding their

use and consumption of animal products. This is an interesting finding because 2015 research found that political ideology is a predictor of mortality (Pabayo et al. 423). Pabayo's research stated that "with respect to [political] ideology, conservatives . . . and moderates . . . are at greater risk for mortality during follow-up than liberals", meaning that the time of death for conservatives and moderates was earlier than their liberal counterparts (Pabayo et al. 423). This applies to my research on framing animal rights because it gives evidence that when framing veganism or vegetarianism to a more conservative audience, the health frame will have little to no effect.

Finally, there were no significant correlations between emotional response and cultural/economic conservatism. As examined above, this is an unexpected result since behavior and emotions are so closely linked to one another. The results found in this study are likely caused by a skewed sample which is heavily liberal. Additionally, because a large portion of the sample (Table 4) were already vegetarian or vegan and as discussed in the French portion of the literature review (Chapter II) we know that this is not accurate to the general French or American populations and thus could have affected the results. Had the sample not been politically skewed, the results likely would have demonstrated a similar trend between emotional and behavioral responses.

Table 10

*Correlations Between Dependent Variables within the Health Frame*

	Cultural Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Economic Conservatism <i>r (df), p</i>	Behavioral Response <i>r (df), p</i>	Emotional Response <i>r (df), p</i>
Cultural Conservatism		0.704 (80), 0.001	-0.235 (81), 0.033	0.050 (81), 0.655
Economic Conservatism			-0.293 (81), 0.007	-0.148 (81), 0.182
Behavioral Response				0.372 (82), 0.001

**General Discussion**

This chapter has explored the results of this study and has concluded that despite a skewed sample, there is evidence to support the use of specific frames to influence certain demographics to follow a vegan or vegetarian lifestyle. In this section, I will give a general overview of the study's findings, for which analyses can be found earlier in the chapter.

*General Findings – Economic Conservatism and Cultural Conservatism*

The general findings for economic conservatism and cultural conservatism suggest that the sample leaned extremely liberal on the created scale. Both scales were a 1 through 7 scale, with 1 being extremely liberal and 7 being extremely conservative.

For economic conservatism, the averages for both countries were very similar, however this contradicts research by the Pew Research Sample which suggests that Americans should be more economically conservative than the French (NW et al.). This contradicting research shows that the political leanings of the sample likely had an impact

on the data, making it less reliable than it would be had the sample been more representative. Additionally, despite research that suggests that those who hold more economically conservative views should have a weaker emotional response to the frames (Kamas and Preston 76), my research showed that economic conservatism had no effect on either emotional or behavioral responses.

Although the sample still leaned heavily liberal when cultural conservatism was determined, there was a significant difference between French and American respondents with Americans being slightly more culturally liberal than the French. Contradicting research suggests that the French should be more liberal than the Americans (NW et al.), in part because of their cultural value on a welfare state that values the patient (Beckfield et al. 131). This again, along with the higher numbers of vegetarian and vegan respondents, implies that the sample was skewed and that results cannot be generalized beyond a liberal population in which a large percentage of the population is vegetarian or vegan.

#### *General Findings – Emotional Response and Behavioral Response*

Behavioral and emotional response were measured in a scale of 1 to 7, with 7 indicating a high level of emotion or a high likelihood of taking action (such as reducing meat consumption or learning more about the animal agriculture industry).

The results showed that cultural conservatism did have an impact on behavioral response. French respondents were more likely to take action than their American counterparts. Additionally, French people had higher levels of emotional response, which is an expected result because previous research indicates that emotion is linked to

actionable behaviors (Achar et al. 168; Gaur et al. 917–18; Huffman et al. 36; Zhu and Thagard 34).

It's likely that the French reported higher levels of emotion and actionable behavior than Americans partially because there were a larger number of vegetarians and vegans within the French sample (see Table 4). Those following these diets could have indicated higher behavioral/emotional responses because there were already motivated to take action as indicated by their current diets. Additionally, previous research has shown that population density plays a significant role in a population's "future orientation" (Sng et al. 736). Two of the three frames focus on improving health (a long-term goal) and helping the environment (a future oriented thinking strategy), so it stands to reason that this could be explained the higher population density of France could impact the study results (*Countries By Density 2019*).

There was a significant difference in which frame impacted emotional response and a further analysis found that the environmental and ethical frames were more successful than the health frame. These results likely occurred because both the ethical and environmental frames were more visually centered (see Appendix B) while the health frame was less so. Research has found that visuals are useful in triggering responses (Hartmann and Apaolaza-Ibañez; Perrin; Swim and Bloodhart).

The frame did not impact behavioral response which is likely a result of survey construction. Because nearly half of the populations were already vegan or vegetarian, the results are not representative of the population intended to see the advertisements. Since, as we have seen, emotion and behavior are so tightly linked, it is likely a lack of

generalizability in the sample that caused no frame impact on behavioral response as there was for emotional response.

### *General Findings – Differences in Correlations Between French and American Populations*

In order to discuss the differences in correlations among the two populations, we must first understand the correlations with combined cultures. This section will first examine trends within the combined populations before attempting to understand the differences in correlations.

Within the combined populations, data analysis found that cultural conservatism and economic conservatism were significantly related. This implies that the more culturally conservative one is, the more economically conservative they are likely to be, and vice versa.

Next, the findings showed that the more economically or culturally conservative one was, the less likely they were to have a strong behavioral response, i.e. to take action to learn more about the meat industry or to reduce meat and animal product consumption. This is an expected result because previous findings show that those who do take action (those already involved in the vegan movement) are dominated by a liberal ideology (Hodson and Earle 75; Martinelli and Berkmanienė 514). Therefore, it makes sense that those with more conservative politics would be less inclined to join the movement.

Finally, the combined populations showed a positive relationship between emotional and behavioral response, meaning that the stronger the emotional reaction was, it was likely that the behavioral reaction was also strong, and vice versa. This is in line

with previous research that finds an undeniable link between emotion and action influencing each other (Zhu and Thagard 34).

Now that a baseline for correlations among the combined populations has been established, we can move on to understanding the differences between French and American cultures. While the populations weren't drastically different, one correlation stands out. The correlation between economic conservatism and cultural conservatism was stronger among Americans than it was among the French respondents. This means that Americans who were culturally conservative were even more likely than their French counterparts to also be economically conservative. This difference is likely due to a sample that was skewed both politically and in terms of current diet.

#### *General Findings – Correlations by Frame*

Because there was no interaction between culture and frame in influencing either emotional or behavioral response, meaning that the culture did not have an effect on the level success of the frame, (see Emotional Response and Behavioral Response sections above), populations were combined for the frame analysis.

Findings within the three frames (environmental, ethical, and health) were similar regarding correlations. All three frames found a relationship between the level of conservatism and the behavioral response, indicating that the more conservative a respondent was, the less likely they were to take action in reducing their meat consumption or learning more about the negative impacts of animal agriculture. This is an interesting finding that makes sense because previous research has shown that within the United States, the environmental movement is generally liberal (Dunlap et al. 45). Additionally, research has shown that political ideology is a predictor of mortality, such



that those with a more conservative or moderate ideology had an earlier time of death than their liberal counterparts (Pabayo et al. 423). This research shows that my findings are logical because they align with existing research findings.

Unexpectedly, within the environment frame, there was not a significant correlation between conservatism and emotional response. We can hypothesize that this finding can be explained by research that finds that liberals want to feel more and experience more empathy than conservatives (Hasson et al. 1449) however it is an unexpected result since, as has been examined above, emotional and behavioral response should be related. Another unexpected result can be found within the ethical frame, where there is no significant correlation between the behavioral and economic conservatism response although there is a correlation between behavioral and cultural conservatism.

For both unanticipated responses, it is likely that a liberally skewed sample effected the accuracy of the results. Additionally, because a large portion of the sample (Table 4) identified themselves as vegan or vegetarian, the results are likely effected as those who already follow a diet with limited or no animal product use, may have responded in such a way that behavioral and emotional response scales were thrown off.

What these findings show us is that for all frames, they will be more successful when presented to a population that is already liberal or is more “on the fence” regarding veganism and vegetarianism.

## **Conclusion**

Despite a skewed sample in terms of diet, gender, and political leaning, this research has revealed findings that could be very beneficial to animal rights

organizations. Through an examination of emotional and behavioral response with conservatism as a covariate, the analysis uncovered that the French were more likely to be affected by the ethical and environmental frames than Americans. As explored in the French literature review section (Chapter II) these are expected results because the French are more environmentally conscious and have stronger laws related to ethical wellbeing for animals. However, neither culture was likely to react emotionally or with changes in their behavior when presented with the health frame. Finally, neither emotional nor behavioral response within any specific frame was affected change within either culture.

Animal rights organizations hoping to convert new members to their cause or businesses selling vegan or vegetarian products should note the importance of understanding the audience when creating their campaigns. Audience receptivity can be determined not only by cultural and economic conservatism, but also by age, gender, and socioeconomic status.

## **CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Veganism is not only a counterhegemonic movement that supports environmentalism, it is also the protest of a patriarchal system that relies on the exploitation and rape of female animals for profit. Animal rights organizations and companies selling vegan and vegetarian products should be aware that how they frame their campaigns makes a significant difference on how the viewer will respond. This chapter will first summarize major conclusions and implications of the study, before analyzing the limitations. Then, it will provide recommendations for future research. Finally, I will provide my final thoughts and insights about the process and findings of this study.

### **Major Conclusions**

This study yielded major conclusions about the impact of frame usage on animal rights campaigns within the United States and France. Firstly, as an overall picture of the responses to the ethical, environmental, and health frames, the data showed that these frames do have the potential to be successful when presented to a liberal audience, even more so when the audience is more politically left and French. The study found that those who are more conservative are extremely unlikely to be influenced by any of the frames, regardless of their culture. Animal rights organizations and brands promoting vegan or vegetarian products will be far more successful in targeting people who already hold liberal political views.

When specifically looking at the conclusions drawn about the individual frames, the data demonstrated that people need to have some sort of connection to the frame. The ethical and environmental frames were more successful in creating emotional and

behavioral responses than the health frame, likely because people were unable to present to the narrow images that were provided.

This study has showed that culture does play a significant role in determining the successfulness of a frame. We can see from the results that the French are more likely to be influenced both behaviorally and emotionally than Americans. A deeper analysis of the data and previous research showed that the reason behind the frames having more success with French respondents, could be related to France's lower population density and a more desensitized to violence American culture. Additionally, it is likely that the nature of the images presented to respondents effected the response, as English advertisements were displayed to all respondents.

The higher population density of France played a role in influencing emotional response, which is inherently linked to behavioral response. The higher density of France helped to foster a culture in which individuals are more cognizant of effect on the world, thus making them more reception to ethical and environmental frames.

Additionally, a higher level of violence within the United States explains why frames that were meant to create a catalytic experience in the viewer, were less successful among Americans. As examined in Chapter IV, a higher level of violence, particularly among children, creates emotional desensitization which explains the lower emotional responses to all three frames when compared with the emotional responses of French respondents. Violence towards animals is a precursor to violence towards humans and France's stricter laws regarding animal rights (see Chapter II) could therefore contribute to the lower level of violence found in the country.

Whether promoting a vegan or vegetarian diet, promoting animal rights, or simply trying to market a product, this study has successfully shown that frame usage and cultural consideration should be taken into account. In order to create an actionable response from consumers and viewers, it is vital to understand how different cultures and political ideologies will react to the framing.

### **Implications of the Research Findings**

As found by many significant differences and correlations, it is evident that cultural differences between France and the United States can impact the successfulness of campaigns used by animal rights organizations or businesses promoting a vegan or vegetarian product. This examination of cultural responses to three different types of frames has shown that the French are more likely to be emotionally and behaviorally influenced than Americans. This is important for organizations to recognize because they will need to adjust their marketing campaigns in order to be successful. What works in France will likely not have the same effect in the United States.

Although strong and significant correlations did occur, if animal rights organizations want to have the strongest impact possible, it is necessary to further examine the usage of messaging within each individual frame. As we saw in Chapter IV, the health frame was not successful in creating an emotional or behavioral response, but it also had the most narrow frame, such that the viewer would need to be overweight or have a child to relate to the advertisement. By examining how viewers respond to specific messages within each frame, they would likely find higher levels of success in creating the desired emotional and behavioral responses.

Effectively utilizing animal rights campaigns is valuable for environmental, health, and ethical reasons. As discussed in Chapter II, the animal agriculture industry is responsible for more carbon dioxide emissions than the transportation industry. Additionally, animal-based foods are positively correlated with increased rates of colon cancer and thus creating campaigns that promote an animal product free lifestyle can help reduce health problems. Finally, animal rights campaigns promote the reduction if not the complete abolition of animal flesh and byproducts for human consumption. This anti-murder standpoint contributes to a more ethical world. Practically speaking, by understanding these unique frames and the responses to them, future advertisers can create more successful campaigns. They should be careful to use the health frame very specifically and to be aware of the audience which will see the frame.

From a scholarly perspective this study contributes to the growing collection of literature on animal rights. Additionally, it provides quantitative results in a field where most studies are qualitative. By contributing to this research, I am providing evidence that understanding framing and researching the intended audience is key to creating a successful campaign.

### **Limitations**

This study is limited in six major ways, the first of which is the demographics of the sample. As the results in Chapter IV discovered, the sample was composed of mainly young liberal people. Additionally, nearly a third of both French and American populations were self-proclaimed vegans or vegetarians, which is not representative of the general population. Because the sample was so limited in the types of people that it represented, it is not generalizable to the larger French and American populations.

Secondly, this survey was limited because it was an electronic survey and the mindfulness of the participants cannot be accounted for. Although, as a researcher, I hope that respondents were truthful in their answers, there is no way to know if respondents were completely undistracted as they took the survey, or if they encountered any technological issues that could have caused survey errors.

Third, the response options created for the emotional and behavioral response scales caused the study to be limited. The scales for both response types were “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” on a one through seven scale. I received feedback from some respondents that because they were already vegetarian or vegan, they were unsure what to put when responding to these questions. For example, one question asked about the intent of the respondent to reduce their meat consumption. For those who already did not eat meat, there was no “Not Applicable” section. Several respondents reached out to via the Facebook groups where I posted this survey and told me that they had put “Neither Agree nor Disagree” which is a three on the one through seven scale. This unforeseen survey issue likely caused slightly skewed results.

Fourth, the advertisements that were presented to viewers as part of their assigned frame were all American or English-written (with French translations) ads. They were deliberately created with someone English-speaking and likely a native English speaker in mind. Had the correct French advertisements been found, I would have used one American and one French in each frame, but after a trip to Paris funded by the College of Wooster’s Copeland Funding Research Grant, very minimal and tame advertisements could be found (see Appendix G, Appendix H, Appendix I) (Association Végétarienne de France; Ligue Contre la Vivisection; Minuit sur Terre) .

Fifth, it proved difficult to find French sources to build the literature review around. Veganism and vegetarianism are relatively new movements in France that are only now just emerging in Paris, which sets the trends for the rest of the country. Because of this, the Anglophone literature likely skewed the perspective of the literature and thus the study itself.

Finally, the less easily defined health frame limited the study. The two images presented in the health frame in this study promoted health as someone not obese and as someone who does not smoke. However, these were limited interpretations of health, which can be defined in a variety of different ways. What is “healthy” has a different definition for every person and therefore each respondent may not have found lack of obesity and smoking to be outside of their definitions of “healthy” choices.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

There are a wide variety of different studies that could be used to improve the research on framing effects when employed by animal rights organizations. First, it would be beneficial to have research that examines each culture individually, presenting them with advertisements created by people of that culture for people of the culture. For example, presenting French people with ads created by French people, for French people. In this way, the findings would allow us to understand what specific frames are more successful in each culture. Additionally, doing a study where both French and American participants are presented with French advertisements and comparing the results with this study would likely create some interesting findings about cultural differences.

Second, it would be beneficial to run another framing study where each diet group is considered and studied individually. For example, a study could gather images to be



used specifically to convince vegetarians to transition to a vegan lifestyle and another where images are gathered and presented with the intent of inducing a transition from an omnivorous lifestyle to a vegetarian one. The questions within the behavioral and emotional response scales could be changed to fit the type of diet transition. This would help to eliminate the issue of people who already follow a meatless or animal-product-free lifestyle from struggling to answer the scale questions. However, this would be a very difficult study logistically because diet definitions vary across culture and region.

Third, it would be valuable to dive further into the qualitative research that already exists in order to gain a deeper understanding of an individual's responses to the frames. Qualitative research could explore, for example, responses to a specific image posted on PETA's Facebook page. Additionally, it would be valuable to conduct focus groups with the different diet groups to eliminate survey confusion or distraction.

Finally, a future study could specifically examine individual emotional responses. For example, researchers could look at what frames make a viewer angry versus sad. This would fit nicely with research on how specific emotions influence actions. Additionally, my research specifically focused on negative emotions, but it would also be valuable to understand positive emotions that may arise from reframing the campaigns. From this research, animal rights organizations and brands promoting vegan and vegetarian products and lifestyles can improve their marketing strategies and successfully initiate the transition to a more environmentally friendly and ethical world.

### **Final Thoughts**

I began this paper with a brief discussion on PETA's "Holocaust on Your Plate Campaign" and the controversy it caused within the United States and Europe. Through

an in depth examination of the differences between French and American culture and how these differences cause unique actionable and emotional response, I can come to the conclusion that this technique, while successful in creating discussion in Europe, likely did not find the same success in the United States. This valuable information has allowed me and hopefully animal rights organizations and brands to better understand what marketing techniques would be successful cross-culturally in promoting an animal-free lifestyle.

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## APPENDIX A: HSRC Survey Approval

### Understanding Varying Demographic Responses to Frames used by Vegan and Vegetarian Organizations in the United States and France

Protocol ID	2019/09/50
Principal Investigator (PI)	Alysa Tarrant
PI Type	Student
Faculty/Staff PI	Yi Zhu 09/26/2019
Faculty/Staff PI Acceptance Status	Accepted
Department	Communication Studies
Principal Investigator (PI) Institution	
Co-PIs	
External PIs	
Review Type	Exemption
Approval Status	Exemption Verified
Based On	(2) Tests, Surveys, Interviews
Submitted By	Alysa Tarrant
Date Received	09/27/2019
Date of Completion	10/28/2019
Date Approved	10/28/2019
Approval Expires	Approved Without Annual Report
Proposed Start Date	10/11/2019
Date Closed	
Approximate Number of Subjects	5000
Recruitment Materials	09/26/2019 Promotional Messages HSRC.pdf
Additional Documentation	09/26/2019 French Survey
Protocol Description *	09/26/2019 Protocol Description Alysa Tarrant HSRC.pdf
Notifications	10/28/2019 Exemption Notification - IRB ID: 2019/09/50.pdf

#### Annual Reports

#### Amendments

#### Adverse Events

Event / Date	Status / Comments / Files	Submitted By
No Adverse Events Found.		

#### Protocol Messages

10/22/2019 10:19 PM EDT by Carlo Moreno
Could you please upload an english-language version of the survey?
10/22/2019 11:32 PM EDT by Yi Zhu
Dear Dr. Moreno, The English-version survey was included in the research protocol. Do you need us to upload a separate file as well? Thank you very much. Sincerely, Zhu, Yi
10/27/2019 1:01 PM EDT by Carlo Moreno
My apologies, I must have overlooked the English version in the original protocol. No changes needed, approved.

## APPENDIX B: English Version of Survey

### Survey Flow

**Block: Default Question Block (5 Questions)**

**Standard: Cultural Liberalism and Economic Liberalism Scales (2 Questions)**

**BlockRandomizer: 1 - Evenly Present Elements**

**Standard: Environment Frame (4 Questions)**

**Standard: Health Frame (4 Questions)**

**Standard: Ethical Frame (4 Questions)**

**Standard: Emotional Response/Behavioral Response to Frames (2 Questions)**

**Standard: Demographics (12 Questions)**

Page Break

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Start of Block: Default Question Block

Q1

Consent Form

Thank you for your interest in this survey! Please read the following information before continuing.

You are being asked to participate in a research study for the College of Wooster (Ohio). We are evaluating audience reactions to different campaigns used by vegan or vegetarian organizations. If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked to answer several questions about yourself, and to rate your response to a series of images. The survey will take approximately 10 minutes to complete and you do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to. Some images may be slightly disturbing and could make respondents experience a short-term negative mood. There are no anticipated long-term psychological, financial, or physical risks associated with participation. There are no direct benefits to you for your participation. An indirect benefit is that we learn more about audience responses to campaigns. There is no form of compensation. Any information you give will be anonymous. The data will be kept by the researcher and will be saved in a password protected laptop. All the data will be processed by trained researchers. There is no cost to you beyond the time and effort required to complete the procedure described above.

You may refuse to participate in the study. You may change your mind about being in the study and withdraw at any point during the survey. If you have any questions, you can contact me, Alysa Tarrant, by email at [atarrant20@wooster.edu](mailto:atarrant20@wooster.edu) You may also contact my advisor, Professor Yi Zhu, of the Communication Studies Department at [yzhu@wooster.edu](mailto:yzhu@wooster.edu), at the College of Wooster.

☐ I certify that I am at least 18 years old, I acknowledge my rights, and I am voluntarily participating. (4)

☐ I am either not 18 years old or I do not wish to take this survey (6)

*Skip To: End of Survey If Consent Form Thank you for your interest in this survey! Please read the following information be... = I am either not 18 years old or I do not wish to take this survey*

---

Page Break

Q2 Which of the following best describes your current diet?

- ☐ Vegetarian (someone who chooses not to consume animal flesh (meat), but still consumes other animal products, such as cheese, milk, and eggs) (1)
  - ☐ Vegan (someone who objects to the use of nonhuman animal products for food, cosmetics, clothing, and vivisection) (2)
  - ☐ Other (3)
- 

Q3 Have you, at any point in your life, followed one of the diets below?

- ☐ Vegetarian (1)
  - ☐ Vegan (2)
  - ☐ Both (3)
  - ☐ Neither (4)
-



Q4 My friends and family are familiar with vegan and vegetarian lifestyles.

- ☐ Strongly agree (1)
  - ☐ Agree (2)
  - ☐ Somewhat agree (3)
  - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (4)
  - ☐ Somewhat disagree (5)
  - ☐ Disagree (6)
  - ☐ Strongly disagree (7)
- 

Q5 It is common in my community to be vegetarian or vegan.

- ☐ Strongly agree (1)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Somewhat agree (3)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ Somewhat disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (6)
- ☐ Strongly disagree (7)

End of Block: Default Question Block

---

Start of Block: Cultural Liberalism and Economic Liberalism Scales



Q6 Please rate your response to the following statements.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
Laws should restrict abortion in all or most cases. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Some people should not be allowed to reproduce. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Access to free healthcare is a right. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School science classes should teach evolution and the "Big Bang". (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Marriage must be heralded for the important role it plays in society. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Patriotism  
is an  
overrated  
quality. (6)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Radio  
stations  
should be  
required to  
present  
balanced  
news  
coverage.  
(7)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Anything  
but  
heterosexual  
marriage  
should be  
forbidden.  
(8)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

It should be  
against the  
law the use  
hateful  
language  
towards  
another  
racial  
group. (9)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

An official  
language  
should be  
set, and  
immigrants  
should have  
to learn it.  
(10)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Racial  
issues will  
never be  
resolved. It  
is human  
nature to  
prefer one's  
own race.  
(11)



---

Page Break



Q7 Please rate your response to the following statements.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat at disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat at agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
Unions were indispensable in establishing the middle class. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In nearly every instance, the free market allocates resources most efficiently. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The rich should pay higher taxes than the middle class. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sometimes war is necessary, even if it means that you need to strike first. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

We must use  
our military  
from time to  
time to  
protect our  
supply of oil  
in order to  
avoid a  
national  
crisis. (5)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

The  
government  
should ensure  
that all  
citizens meet  
a certain  
minimum  
standard of  
living. (6)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Whatever  
maximizes  
economic  
growth is  
good for the  
people. (7)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Marijuana  
should be  
legal. (8)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Laws on  
minimum  
wage lead to  
unemploye  
nt and should  
be abolished.  
(9)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

End of Block: Cultural Liberalism and Economic Liberalism Scales

Start of Block: Environment Frame



Q8



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Q9 Text Reads: 1 Steak = 50 Baths. Clean your conscience: go vegan.

---

Q10

**Eat less water.**

2400 L water for one hamburger  
Food production consumes water.  
Conserve water by reducing food waste.



---

Q11 Text Reads: Eat Less Water. 2400 L water for one hamburger. Food production consumes water. Conserve water by reducing food waste.

**End of Block: Environment Frame**

---

**Start of Block: Health Frame**

Q12



Q13 Text Reads: Save the Whales. Lose the Blubber: Go Vegetarian.

Q14



---

Q15 Text Reads: You wouldn't let your child smoke. Like smoking, eating bacon, sausage and other processed meats is linked to cancer.

End of Block: Health Frame

---

Start of Block: Ethical Frame

Q16



---

Q17 Text Reads: Here's the rest of your wool coat.

---



Q18



---

Q19 Text Reads: Eating meat kills more animals than you think. Ranchers set fires in the Amazon Rainforest to graze cattle and grow crops for them. Go vegan.

End of Block: Ethical Frame

---

Start of Block: Emotional Response/Behavioral Response to Frames



Q20 Please rate your agreement to the following statements.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
I am motivated to actively consume and use fewer animal products. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am motivated to learn more about the benefits of vegetarianism and veganism. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to persuade my peers to learn more about vegetarianism and veganism. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am motivated to learn more about a balanced diet. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



I am motivated to learn about the health benefits of vegetarianism or veganism. (5)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

I am motivated to learn more about the meat and dairy industry. (6)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

I want to learn more about how my personal consumption actions effect the environment . (7)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

My personal habits won't produce any noteworthy change. (8)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

I want to consume less meat. (9)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

I want to consume fewer dairy and egg products. (10)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

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Page Break

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Q21 Please rate your agreement to the following statements.

	Strongl y disagre e (1)	Disagre e (2)	Somewha t disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagre e (4)	Somewha t agree (5)	Agre e (6)	Strongl y agree (7)
I am surprised by what these images suggest about my consumption habits. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am now feeling more empathetic towards animals. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel helpless after seeing these images. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am shocked by what these images suggest about my consumption habits. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am disgusted by what these images suggest about my consumption habits. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

These  
images  
make me  
feel sad. (6)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

I feel that  
these  
images are  
exaggerated  
. (7)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

The images  
are  
effective at  
inspiring  
change. (8)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

I am angry  
that these  
images  
suggest that  
my  
consumption  
habits  
could have  
such an  
effect. (9)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

End of Block: Emotional Response/Behavioral Response to Frames

Start of Block: Demographics

Q22

What is your age?

- ☐ Under 18 (1)
  - ☐ 18-24 (2)
  - ☐ 25-34 (3)
  - ☐ 35-44 (4)
  - ☐ 45-54 (5)
  - ☐ 55-64 (6)
  - ☐ 65-74 (7)
  - ☐ 75-84 (8)
  - ☐ 85 or older (9)
- 

Q23 Which gender best describes you?

- ☐ Male (1)
  - ☐ Female (2)
  - ☐ Transgender Male (3)
  - ☐ Transgender Female (4)
  - ☐ Gender Variant/Non Conforming (5)
  - ☐ Not Represented Here (6)
  - ☐ Prefer Not to Say (7)
-

Q24 Which best describes your sexual orientation?

- ☐ Heterosexual (1)
- ☐ Homosexual (2)
- ☐ Bisexual (3)
- ☐ Not Represented Here (4)
- ☐ Prefer not to say (5)

---

Page Break

Q25 Do you have children?

- ☐ Yes (1)
  - ☐ No (2)
  - ☐ Uncertain (3)
- 

Q26 What type of community do you currently live in?

- ☐ City or urban community (1)
  - ☐ Suburban community (2)
  - ☐ Rural community (3)
  - ☐ Other (4)
- 



Q27 What is your marital status?

- ☐ Married or a domestic partnership (1)
  - ☐ Separated/Divorced (2)
  - ☐ Single (3)
  - ☐ Other (4)
-



Q28 Which social class do you consider yourself to be part of?

- ☐ Lower Class (1)
  - ☐ Working Class (2)
  - ☐ Middle Class (3)
  - ☐ Upper Class (4)
- 



Q29 Which culture do you best identify with?

- ☐ France (1)
  - ☐ United States (2)
  - ☐ Other (3)
- 

Q30 In which country have you spent most of your life?

- ☐ France (1)
  - ☐ United States (2)
  - ☐ Other (3)
-

Q31 What is your highest level of education achieved?

- ☐ Less than high school (1)
  - ☐ High school graduate (2)
  - ☐ Some college (3)
  - ☐ 2 year degree (4)
  - ☐ 4 year degree (5)
  - ☐ Professional degree (6)
  - ☐ Doctorate (7)
- 

Q32 What is your employment status?

- ☐ Employed full time (1)
  - ☐ Employed part time (2)
  - ☐ Unemployed looking for work (3)
  - ☐ Unemployed not looking for work (4)
  - ☐ Retired (5)
  - ☐ Student (6)
  - ☐ Disabled (7)
-

Q33 Which, if any, of these social movements are you involved in?

☐ Animal Rights (1)

☐ Human Rights (2)

☐ Environmental (3)

☐ Other (4)

☐ None (5)

**End of Block: Demographics**

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## APPENDIX C: French Version of Survey

### Survey Flow

**Block: Default Question Block (5 Questions)**

**Standard: Cultural Liberalism and Economic Liberalism Scales (2 Questions)**

**BlockRandomizer: 1 - Evenly Present Elements**

**Standard: Environment Frame (4 Questions)**

**Standard: Health Frame (4 Questions)**

**Standard: Ethical Frame (4 Questions)**

**Standard: Emotional Response/Behavioral Response to Frames (2 Questions)**

**Standard: Demographics (12 Questions)**

Page Break

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---

Start of Block: Default Question Block

Q1 Consentement Merci de votre intérêt pour cette étude ! Veuillez lire les informations suivantes avant de continuer. Nous vous demandons de participer à une étude universitaire pour le College of Wooster (Ohio). Nous y examinons les réactions du public face aux campagnes utilisées par les organisations promouvant un produit ou un style de vie végétalien ou végétarien. Si vous décidez de participer, nous vous poserons quelques questions sur votre mode de vie et prendrons en compte vos réactions par rapport à une série d'images. L'enquête prendra environ 10 minutes.

Vous n'avez pas besoin de répondre à toutes les questions. En effet, quelques images pourraient être troublantes et vous attrister temporairement. Aucun risque (psychologique, financier ou physique) n'est lié à la participation à cette recherche.

Il n'y a aucun bénéfice direct à votre contribution; la participation à cette enquête n'étant pas rémunérée. Répondre à ce questionnaire ne vous coûtera rien et ne requiert donc qu'un investissement de votre temps. Vous pouvez refuser de participer à cette étude ou décider d'y participer mais changer d'avis et vous désister à tout moment. Par contre, cette étude aura pour avantage indirect de faire avancer la recherche sur les réactions du public face aux diverses campagnes utilisées par les organisations qui promeuvent un produit ou un style de vie végétalien ou végétarien.. Vos réponses resteront anonymes et les données seront préservées par un mot de passe sur l'ordinateur de l'enquêtrice. Ces données seront alors analysées par des chercheurs formés. Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à me contacter par courriel: Alysa Tarrant à atarrant20@wooster.edu. Vous pouvez également joindre la professeure qui encadre mes recherches dans le Département d'Études Françaises et Francophones: Marion Duval à mduval@wooster.edu.

☐ Je certifie que j'ai au moins 18 ans, je déclare que j'ai entièrement compris quels sont mes droits et que je participe volontairement à cette étude. (4)

☐ Soit je n'ai pas 18 ans, soit je ne souhaite pas répondre à cette enquête. (6)

*Skip To: End of Survey If Consentement Merci de votre intérêt pour cette étude ! Veuillez lire les informations suivantes a... = Soit je n'ai pas 18 ans, soit je ne souhaite pas répondre à cette enquête.*

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Page Break

Q2 Lequel des éléments suivants décrit le mieux votre alimentation actuelle ?

- ☐ Végétarien -- vous avez fait le choix de ne pas manger de viande mais vous consommez encore des denrées animales telles que les œufs et les produits laitiers. (1)
  - ☐ Végétalien -- vous refusez d'utiliser ou de consommer des produits qui exploitent les animaux (nourriture, maquillage, vêtements et vivisection). (2)
  - ☐ Autre (3)
- 

Q3 Avez-vous, à tout moment, suivi un de ces régimes ?

- ☐ Végétarien (1)
  - ☐ Végétalien (2)
  - ☐ Les deux (3)
  - ☐ Aucun (4)
-

Q4 Mes amis et ma famille sont au courant des styles de vie végétarien et végétalien.

- ☐ Fortement d'accord (1)
  - ☐ D'accord (2)
  - ☐ Plutôt d'accord (3)
  - ☐ Ni d'accord ni en désaccord (4)
  - ☐ Plutôt en désaccord (5)
  - ☐ En désaccord (6)
  - ☐ Fortement en désaccord (7)
- 

Q5 Il est commun dans ma collectivité d'être végétarien ou végétalien.

- ☐ Fortement d'accord (1)
- ☐ D'accord (2)
- ☐ Plutôt d'accord (3)
- ☐ Ni d'accord ni en désaccord (4)
- ☐ Plutôt en désaccord (5)
- ☐ En désaccord (6)
- ☐ Fortement en désaccord (7)

End of Block: Default Question Block

---

Start of Block: Cultural Liberalism and Economic Liberalism Scales



Q6 Veuillez noter votre réponse aux énoncés suivants.



	Fortement en désacco rd (1)	En désacco rd (2)	Plutôt en désacco rd (3)	Ni d'accord ni en désacco rd (4)	Plutôt d'accor d (5)	D'accor d (6)	Forteme nt d'accor d (7)
Les lois devraient restreindre l'avortement dans tous les cas ou dans la plupart des cas. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Certaines personnes ne devraient pas être autorisées à se reproduire. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
L'accès aux services de santé gratuits est un droit. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Les cours de sciences à l'école devraient enseigner l'évolution et la théorie du Big Bang. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Le mariage doit être respecté pour le rôle important qu'il joue dans la société. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Le  
patriotisme  
est une  
qualité  
surfaite. (6)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Les stations  
de radio  
devraient  
être tenues  
de présenter  
une  
couverture  
équilibrée  
des  
nouvelles.  
(7)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Seul le  
mariage  
hétérosexuel  
devrait être  
permis. (8)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Il devrait  
être illégal  
de proférer  
des propos  
haineux  
envers un  
groupe pour  
sa seule  
couleur de  
peau. (9)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Les  
immigrants  
devraient  
obligatoirement  
apprendre la  
langue  
officielle du  
pays  
d'accueil.  
(10)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Les  
problèmes  
raciaux et  
ethniques ne  
seront jamais  
résolus. C'est  
la nature  
humaine de  
préférer sa  
propre  
couleur de  
peau. (11)



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Page Break



Q7 Veuillez noter votre réponse aux énoncés suivants.

	Fortem ent en désacco rd (1)	En désacco rd (2)	Plutôt en désacco rd (3)	Ni d'accor d ni en désacco rd (4)	Plutôt d'acco rd (5)	D'acco rd (6)	Fortem ent d'accor d (7)
Les syndicats sont indispensables pour l'établissement d'une classe moyenne. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dans presque tous les cas, le marché libre distribue les ressources de la manière la plus efficace possible. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Les riches devraient payer plus d'impôts que la classe moyenne. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
La guerre est parfois nécessaire, même si cela signifie être à l'origine de l'attaque.. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Il est  
nécessaire de  
temps en  
temps,  
d'utiliser  
l'armée pour  
protéger son  
approvisionnement en  
pétrole et afin  
d'éviter une  
crise nationale.  
(5)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Le  
gouvernement  
devrait  
s'assurer que  
tous les  
citoyens aient  
un certain  
niveau de vie  
minimum. (6)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Tout ce qui  
maximise la  
croissance  
économique  
est bon pour le  
peuple. (7)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

La marijuana  
devrait être  
légalisée. (8)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

La garantie  
d'un salaire  
minimum  
(SMIC) a pour  
conséquence  
un taux de  
chômage plus  
élevé et devrait  
être abolie. (9)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Q8



---

Q9 Texte : 1 Steak = 50 Bains. Ayez la conscience propre: Devenez végétarien!

---

Q10

**Eat less water.**

2400 L water for one hamburger  
Food production consumes water.  
Conserve water by reducing food waste.



---

Q11 Texte : Consommer moins d'eau. 2400 L d'eau pour produire un hamburger. La production de nourriture consomme de l'eau. Conserver l'eau en réduisant le gaspillage alimentaire.

End of Block: Environment Frame

---

Start of Block: Health Frame



Q12



Q13 Texte : Sauvez les baleines. Perdez de la graisse. Devenez végétarien!

Q14



---

Q15 Texte : Vous ne laisseriez pas votre enfant fumer. Tout comme fumer, manger du bacon, des saucisses et d'autres viandes industrielles est lié au cancer.

End of Block: Health Frame

---

Start of Block: Ethical Frame

Q16



---

Q17 Texte : Voici ce qui reste de votre manteau de laine.

---

Q18



---

Q19 Texte : Manger de la viande tue plus d'animaux que vous ne le pensez. Les éleveurs ont mis le feu à l'Amazonie afin d'y faire paître le bétail et y cultiver la nourriture qui leur est destinée. Devenez végétalien.

End of Block: Ethical Frame

---

Start of Block: Emotional Response/Behavioral Response to Frames



Q20 Veuillez noter votre réponse aux énoncés suivants.

	Fortement en désaccord (1)	En désaccord (2)	Plutôt en désaccord (3)	Ni d'accord ni en désaccord (4)	Plutôt d'accord (5)	D'accord (6)	Fortement d'accord (7)
Je suis motivé(e) à consommer et à utiliser moins de produits animaux. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Je suis motivé(e) à apprendre les avantages du végétarisme et du véganisme. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Je voudrais persuader mes pairs d'en apprendre plus au sujet du végétarisme et du véganisme. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Je suis motivé(e) à en apprendre plus au sujet d'une alimentation équilibrée. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Je suis  
motivé(e) à  
apprendre les  
avantages du  
végétarisme  
ou du  
véganisme  
pour la santé.  
(5)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Je suis  
motivé(e)  
d'apprendre  
plus sur  
l'industrie de  
la viande et  
des produits  
laitiers. (6)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Je voudrais  
en savoir plus  
sur l'effet de  
mes actions  
personnelles  
de  
consommatio  
n sur  
l'environnem  
ent. (7)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Mes  
habitudes  
personnelles  
ne produiront  
aucun  
changement  
notable. (8)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Je voudrais  
consommer  
moins de  
viande. (9)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Je voudrais  
consommer  
moins de  
produits  
laitiers et  
d'œufs. (10)

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

---

Page Break





Q21 Veuillez noter votre réponse aux énoncés suivants.

	Fortement en désaccord (1)	En désaccord (2)	Plutôt en désaccord (3)	Ni d'accord ni en désaccord (4)	Plutôt d'accord (5)	D'accord (6)	Fortement d'accord (7)
Je suis surpris(e) par ce que suggèrent ces images sur mes habitudes de consommation. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
J'ai maintenant plus d'empathie envers les animaux. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Je me sens démun(e) après avoir vu ces images. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Je suis choqué(e) par ce que ces images suggèrent sur mes habitudes de consommation. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Je suis  
dégoûté(e)  
par ce que ces  
images  
suggèrent  
sur mes  
habitudes de  
consommation. (5)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Ces images  
me rendent  
triste. (6)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

J'ai  
l'impression  
que ces  
images sont  
exagérées.  
(7)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Les images  
sont  
efficaces  
pour inspirer  
un  
changement  
d'habitude.  
(8)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Je suis en  
colère que  
ces images  
suggèrent  
que mes  
habitudes de  
consommation  
pourraient  
avoir des  
répercussions  
négatives.  
(9)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Q22 Quel âge avez-vous ?

- ☐ Under 18 (1)
  - ☐ 18-24 (2)
  - ☐ 25-34 (3)
  - ☐ 35-44 (4)
  - ☐ 45-54 (5)
  - ☐ 55-64 (6)
  - ☐ 65-74 (7)
  - ☐ 75-84 (8)
  - ☐ 85 or older (9)
-

Q23 Quel genre vous décrit le mieux ?

- ☐ Homme (1)
  - ☐ Femme (2)
  - ☐ Homme transgenre (3)
  - ☐ Femme transgenre (4)
  - ☐ Personne dont l'identité sexuelle est floue (5)
  - ☐ Pas représenté ici (6)
  - ☐ Préfère ne pas dire (7)
- 

Q24 Lequel décrit le mieux votre orientation sexuelle ?

- ☐ Hétérosexuel(le) (1)
  - ☐ Homosexuel(le) (2)
  - ☐ Bisexuel(le) (3)
  - ☐ Pas représenté ici (4)
  - ☐ Préfère ne pas le dire (5)
- 

Page Break

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Q25 Avez-vous des enfants ?

- ☐ Oui (1)
  - ☐ Non (2)
  - ☐ Pas certain (3)
- 

Q26 Dans quel type de quartier vivez-vous actuellement ?

- ☐ Une ville ou un quartier urbain (1)
  - ☐ Une banlieue (2)
  - ☐ Un milieu rural (3)
  - ☐ Autre (4)
- 



Q27 Quel est votre état matrimonial ?

- ☐ En couple (Mariage, PACS, concubinage) (1)
  - ☐ Séparé/Divorcé (2)
  - ☐ Célibataire (3)
  - ☐ Autre (4)
-

Q28 De quelle classe sociale considérez-vous comme partie?

- ☐ La classe populaire (1)
  - ☐ La classe ouvrière (2)
  - ☐ La classe moyenne (3)
  - ☐ La haute société (4)
- 



Q29 À quelle culture identifiez-vous le plus?

- ☐ France (1)
  - ☐ Etats-Unis (2)
  - ☐ Autre (3)
- 

Q30 Dans quel pays avez-vous passé la majeure partie de votre vie?

- ☐ France (1)
  - ☐ Etats-Unis (2)
  - ☐ Autre (3)
-

Q31 Quel est le plus haut diplôme que vous ayez obtenu ?

- ☐ Certificat d'études primaires, aucun diplôme (1)
  - ☐ Brevet des collèges, BEPC (2)
  - ☐ CAP, BEP ou diplôme de même niveau (3)
  - ☐ Baccalauréat général, technologique, professionnel ou équivalent (4)
  - ☐ Diplôme du 1er cycle universitaire, BTS, DUT, ou équivalent, niveau BAC+2 (5)
  - ☐ Diplôme de 2 cycle universitaire (obtenir une licence) (6)
  - ☐ Diplôme de 3 cycle universitaire, doctorat, grande école, ingénieur (7)
- 

Q32 Quel est votre statut d'emploi ?

- ☐ Employé à temps plein (1)
  - ☐ Employé à temps partiel (2)
  - ☐ Recherche activement du travail (3)
  - ☐ Sans-emploi ne cherchant pas de travail (4)
  - ☐ Retraité(e) (5)
  - ☐ Étudiant(e) (6)
  - ☐ Handicapé (ne travaillez pas) (7)
-



Q33 Dans quels mouvements sociaux êtes-vous impliqué ?

- ☐ Droits des animaux (1)
- ☐ Droits de la personne (2)
- ☐ Environnemental (3)
- ☐ Autre (4)
- ☐ Rien (5)

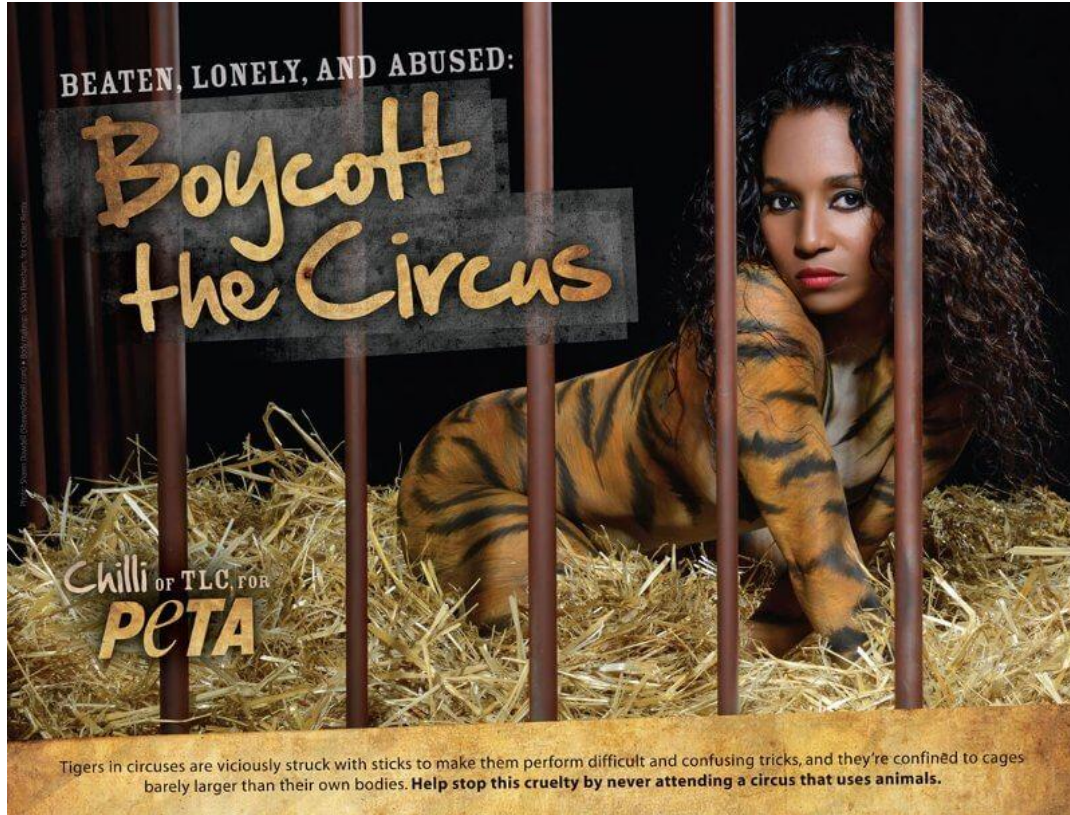
**End of Block: Demographics**

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## APPENDIX D: “The Pig That Therefore I Am”



## APPENDIX E: “Boycott the Circus”



## **APPENDIX F : Recruitment Materials Submitted to HSRC**

### **Message for General Facebook Groups**

Hello! My name is Alysia Tarrant and I am a student at The College of Wooster. For my senior research, I am evaluating audience reactions to different campaigns used by vegan or vegetarian organizations. The goal is to see how certain demographics respond to specific ways of framing campaigns. Your response to this survey, which shouldn't take more than 10 minutes, would be incredibly valuable. I am specifically looking for participants who were raised in France or the United States and who are 18 years of age or older. There is no need to be vegetarian or vegan, all responses are appreciated! Additionally, if you could pass this survey on to friends and family, I would be eternally grateful for the help. Please note that there are several political questions asked at the beginning. This is because politics in France and the United States are very different, so what is conservative in the US is not in France, thus, one scale will not work. Having a variety of questions allows me to create my own numeric scale that will work for Americans and Francophones. For those who are more comfortable taking the survey in English:

[https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf](https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf)

For those who are more comfortable taking the survey in French:

[https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL](https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL)

Please only take the survey once. Both the English and the French versions are the same.

Thank you for your interest and for your help!

### **Message for Vegan Facebook Groups - English**

Hello! My name is Alysia Tarrant and I am a student at The College of Wooster. For my senior research, I am evaluating audience reactions to different campaigns used by vegan or vegetarian organizations. Your response to this survey, which shouldn't take more than 10 minutes, would be incredibly valuable. I am specifically looking for participants who were raised (for the most part) in France or the United States and who are at least 18 years of age or older. Additionally, if you could pass this survey on to friends and family, I would be eternally grateful for the help. By completing this survey you're helping further the vegan message and promote veganism across France and the United States.

For those who are more comfortable taking the survey in English:

[https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf](https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf)

For those who are more comfortable taking the survey in French:

[https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL](https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL)

Please only take the survey once. Both the English and the French versions are the same.

Thank you for your interest and for your help!

### **Message to College of Wooster Students**

Hello! My name is Alysia and I am a senior here at The College of Wooster. For my Independent Study, I am evaluating audience reactions to different campaigns used by vegan or vegetarian organizations. Your response to this survey, which shouldn't take more than 10 minutes, would be incredibly valuable. I am specifically looking for participants who were raised (for the most part) in France or the United States and who are 18 years of age and older. Additionally, if you could pass this survey on to friends and family, I would be eternally grateful for the help.

For those who are more comfortable taking the survey in English:

[https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf](https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf)

For those who are more comfortable taking the survey in French:

[https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL](https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL)

Please only take the survey once. Both the English and the French versions are the same.

Thank you for your interest and for your help!

### **Personal Message – English**

Hey, \_\_\_\_! Hope all is well. I'm reaching out to ask a favor. For my Independent Study at The College of Wooster, I am evaluating audience (18 or over) reactions to different campaigns used by vegan or vegetarian organizations. Your response to this survey, which shouldn't take more than 10 minutes, would be incredibly valuable. Additionally, if you could pass this survey on to friends and family, I would be eternally grateful for the help.

Thank you so much for your help!

[https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf](https://wooster.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf)

### **Message for Vegan Facebook Groups - French**

Bonjour ! Je m'appelle Alysa et je suis étudiante aux États Unis au College de Wooster, dans l'Ohio. Pour ma recherche, j'examine les réactions du public aux campagnes utilisées par les organisations qui promeuvent un produit ou un style de vie végétalien ou végétarien. Le but de l'étude est de comprendre si certaines données démographiques réagissent différemment aux différents types de publicités. Vos réponses à ce questionnaire, qui ne prendra pas plus de 10 minutes, me sont extrêmement précieuses. Je cherche des participants qui ont passé la majeure partie de leur enfance (avant l'âge de 18 ans) en France ou aux États-Unis et qui ont au moins 18 ans. Peu importe si vous êtes végétalien, végétarien ou omnivore. Toutes les réponses sont appréciées! De plus, si vous pouviez envoyer ce questionnaire à vos amis et votre famille, je vous en serais infiniment reconnaissante.

Vous ne verrez qu'un seul type de cadre (2 images).

Puisqu'il n'y a pas d'échelle unique qui s'applique à la politique aux États-Unis et en France, il y a plusieurs questions politiques qui seront créées à une échelle et utilisées pour comprendre la position politique

Pour ceux qui voudraient lire et répondre en anglais :

[https://wooster.col.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf](https://wooster.col.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_0wu8wxhLwY3pwNf)

Pour ceux qui voudraient lire et répondre en français :

[https://wooster.col.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL](https://wooster.col.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL)

S'il vous plaît, ne répondez pas au questionnaire plus d'une fois. Les versions françaises et anglaises sont les mêmes.

### **Message for General Facebook Groups - French**

Bonjour ! Je m'appelle Alysa et je suis étudiante aux États Unis au College de Wooster, dans l'Ohio. Pour ma recherche, j'examine les réactions du public aux campagnes utilisées par les organisations qui promeuvent un produit ou un style de vie végétalien ou végétarien. Le but de l'étude est de comprendre si certaines données démographiques réagissent différemment aux différents types de publicités. Vos réponses à ce questionnaire, qui ne prendra pas plus de 10 minutes, me sont extrêmement précieuses. Je cherche des participants qui ont passé la majeure partie de leur enfance (avant l'âge de 18 ans) en France ou aux États-Unis et qui ont au moins 18 ans. Peu importe si vous êtes végétalien, végétarien ou omnivore. Toutes les réponses sont appréciées! De plus, si vous pouviez envoyer ce questionnaire à vos amis et votre famille, je vous en serais infiniment reconnaissante.



Puisqu'il n'y a pas d'échelle unique qui s'applique à la politique aux États-Unis et en France, il y a plusieurs questions politiques qui seront créées à une échelle et utilisées pour comprendre la position politique

Vous ne verrez qu'un seul type de cadre (2 images).  
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S'il vous plaît, ne répondez pas au questionnaire plus d'une fois. Les versions françaises et anglaises sont les mêmes.

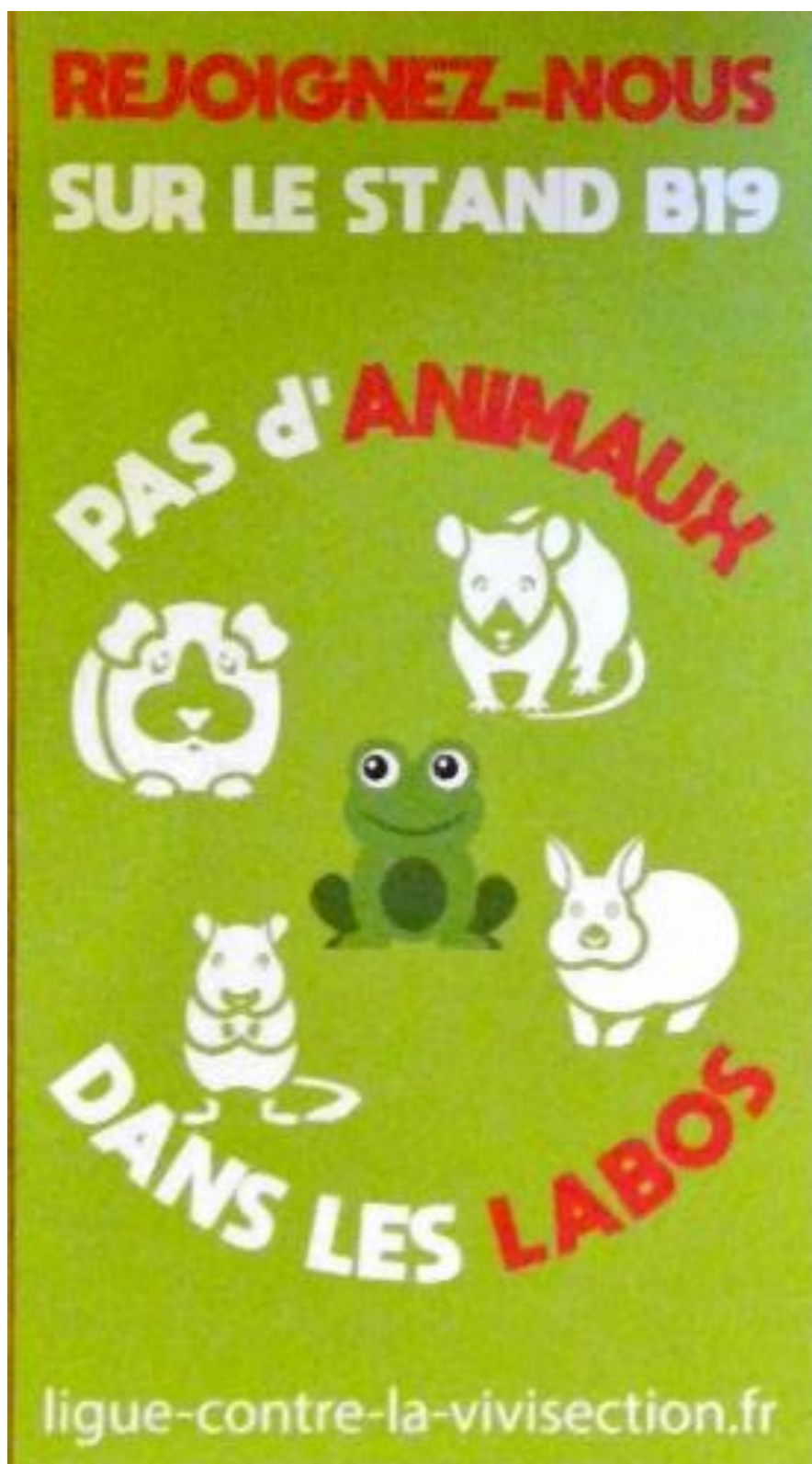
### **Personal Message - French**

Salut \_\_\_\_ ! Ça va? J'ai besoin de te demander un service. Pour ma recherche universitaire au College de Wooster, j'examine les réactions du public (qui a plus que 18 ans) aux campagnes utilisées par les organisations qui promeuvent un produit ou un style de vie végétalien ou végétarien. Ta participation à ce questionnaire, qui ne prend pas plus de 10 minutes, est extrêmement précieuse. De plus, si tu pouvais envoyer ce questionnaire à tes amis et ta famille, je t'en serais infiniment reconnaissante.

Merci beaucoup !

[https://wooster.col.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV\\_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL](https://wooster.col.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_85EZ4MB1bV4yJfL)

APPENDIX G: “Rejoignez-Nous sur le Stand B19”





## APPENDIX H: “Les Chaussures Qui Changent des Vies”

LES CHAUSSURES QUI CHANGENT DES VIES !

<i>Cruelty Free</i>	<i>Éthique</i>
Tous nos modèles sont conçus sans produits d'origine animale.	Fabrication dans de petits ateliers au nord du Portugal.
<i>Style</i>	<i>Qualité</i>
Des détails raffinés et des collections renouvelées chaque saison.	Confection à la main avec des matières de qualité et écologiques.

[www.minuitsurterre.com](http://www.minuitsurterre.com)

## APPENDIX I: “Agir Pour le Climat”

**AGIR POUR  
LE CLIMAT**

Association  
**Végétarienne**  
de France

ça commence dans notre

# ASSIETTE !

À l'échelle planétaire,  
**la consommation de produits animaux**  
est responsable d'environ  
**18%** des émissions de gaz à effet  
de serre d'origine humaine <sup>(1)</sup>.

C'est plus que les émissions directes des secteurs des transports (13%), et presque autant que celles de l'industrie (21%) <sup>(2)</sup>.

Réduire significativement notre consommation de produits animaux permettrait d'annuler ces émissions et de récupérer une grande quantité de terres agricoles pour les reboiser et les transformer en puits de carbone.

Au total, cela représenterait une réduction équivalente à **28%** des émissions totales <sup>(3)</sup>.

À l'heure de l'urgence climatique  
Nous demandons que **des objectifs politiques ambitieux soient pris** en matière de réduction de production et de consommation des protéines animales.

**- 40% d'ici à 2030  
- 80% d'ici à 2050**

Une telle approche serait bénéfique en termes de santé publique et de respect de la condition animale.

<sup>(1)</sup> Politiques alimentaires et climat : une synthèse de la littérature scientifique, Institute for Climate Economics, février 2019.  
<sup>(2)</sup> Rapport du GIEC, 2014 <sup>(3)</sup> "Reducing food's environmental impacts through producers and consumers", J. Poore and T. Nemecek, 2018